

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY
IN THE SOUTH

What are the new needs and changing conditions of the South? This question was put to the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina by a special Committee on Religious Education Re-Study of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, appointed by the General Assembly of that Church and assigned the task of re-examining its program of religious education "in the light of new needs and changing conditions." The Committee knew it could not effectively do its work without an answer to the question. The Institute was challenged by the question and agreed to undertake a study of the church and community in the South in order that the discovery of facts

(CONTINUED ON BACK FLAP)

might serve in an evaluation of present religious education activities and help determine a future program. Not only the student of the church and its program but those interested in sociology and economics will find here a reservoir of information. A glance at the table of contents will show what varied areas of study were included and the wealth of additional help available in the digests and summaries of already existing sociological studies. This study applies not only to the South, for the community surveys and digests and interpretation of basic materials already available will be found useful by church and community leaders everywhere, since they point the way toward revitalization of the church in relation to community needs.

Church and Community in the South

Report of the

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

of

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

for the

COMMITTEE ON RE-STUDY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

of

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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FOREWORD

IN 1944 the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in the United States voted to "approve the plans of the Executive Committee of Religious Education and Publication for engaging in a serious and thorough re-examination of our church's program of religious education in the light of new needs and changing conditions." This project, which soon came to be known as "The Religious Education Re-Study," had originated with the Executive Secretary, Dr. Edward D. Grant. It was carried out, however, by a representative "Committee on Religious Education Re-Study" which was entirely distinct from the Executive Committee and the Educational Staff, in order that full independence might be preserved by the Re-Study Committee in discharging the task, and by the Executive Committee in judging the results.

The resolution adopted by the Assembly, just cited, referred to "new needs and changing conditions" as one basic reason for a thorough re-examination of the program of religious education. But what are these new needs and these changing conditions in the South, which is the area served by the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.? Most of us in the Re-Study Committee were born in the South, and had lived there all our lives. Even so most of us knew the South only by fragments, whereas we now needed a dependable picture of the South as a whole.

In order to secure this picture we deputed one of our members, Dr. C. Morton Hanna, to approach the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, and there we were met by the cordial attitude which is again expressed by Dr. Blackwell in the Preface to this book. We asked the Institute to do essentially three things: (1) to provide us a digest of recent studies of rural life in the South, lifting out all facts which have relevance for organized religion; then to summarize these digests, and to show their implications; (2) to do the same as regards recent studies of urban life in the South; (3) to lay the plans for, and supervise, fresh surveys of ten selected churches in their community setting.

The Institute agreed to undertake these three projects. When the results were presented first to the Re-Study Committee and then to the Executive Committee, we felt their value was such that the findings should be made available to the general public. Hence the Institute's findings, as finally edited, appear in this volume.

For persons whose primary interest is in the church and its mission the book supplies a corrective greatly needed in much of our religious thought, in that it gives a factual picture of Southern conditions within which the church must do its work, but which the churchman is constantly tempted to ignore, or explain away, or minimize, or forget, or even deny.

On the other hand, for persons whose primary field of interest is sociology, economics, social work, etc., the book is equally relevant in at least two respects: first, because of the numerous sociological studies of the South which have been listed, digested, and summarized; and second, because of the impressive, even if often indirect, evidence that religion is urgently needed as a healing and constructive force in the modern South.

It goes without saying that some of the statistical details hold true only for the date when they were gathered, and may or may not represent conditions today. The value of the book is increased, rather than diminished, by that fact. For in the broadest sense this book shows us patterns of living which have prevailed for generations in the South. Our present political, social and religious tensions in the South mean, among other things, that the patterns of the past are not adequate to the needs of the present at numerous points. We are now in the throes of deciding whether to preserve certain of these older patterns at all costs while trying to persuade ourselves that they still make a foundation for the best possible Southern world, or whether we can muster the courage to change such of these older patterns as stand in the way of a more Christian type of democracy, in church, in industry, and in state.

This book, then, we may regard as the voice of some hundreds of persons highly trained in sociology, who have examined Southern situations, and who now speak to the church as if to say, "Here are some of the conditions which exist in our modern South. Do you believe the Gospel is as relevant to these conditions as it was to those which existed when Jesus Christ walked in Palestine?" And if we have any quarrel after we have read it, it had best not be with the sociologists for telling us the truth; but rather with our own souls as we ask ourselves, "What will I do about it?"

On behalf of the Committee on Religious Education Re-Study, sincere appreciation is expressed to the Staff of the Institute, not only for this contribution toward a better understanding of the South, but also for the spirit in which it was done.

L. J. SHERRILL

Louisville, Kentucky
November, 1948

Director of the Religious Education Re-Study

P R E F A C E

WHEN we were approached in the summer of 1945 by the Committee on Religious Education Re-Study of the Presbyterian Church in the United States with the request that the Institute for Research in Social Science provide them with information about Southern communities, several of us were intrigued. It was not usual for a church group to seek sociological understanding of this type to serve as one basis for replanning their program. We felt challenged to see if we could deliver something which would prove useful.

Since available financial resources dictated that little original research and field work could be attempted, we determined that chief reliance would have to be placed upon the many studies which have been made during the past fifteen years or so. We, therefore, had digests prepared of these studies which may be found in Appendices A and B. These digests inevitably lose much of the cogency and feeling of the original studies. Furthermore, the facts are dated and nothing is generally known of changes which have taken place since each study was made. However, it is believed that taken together they do afford the basis for some sociological understanding of Southern communities.

Since a topic of special interest was church-community relationships, a matter too little analyzed in the past, another phase of our inquiry called for field study. Here, working through the administrative organization of the Department of Religious Education of the Church, we had an opportunity to experiment with procedures of community study and self-analysis by local churches with a minimum of outside assistance.

The research and writing were completed by August 1946, and the results were presented to the Committee on Religious Education Re-Study in oral discussion and in mimeographed form. We were especially impressed and pleased with the thoughtful reception given our materials and with the cordial relations which maintained between research staff and church leaders.

Upon the request of the Executive Committee of Religious Education and Publication, we have revised and edited our studies for publication in this volume, which should be read and evaluated in light of the purposes of the project.

Part I, *The Rural South*, is by S. H. Hobbs, Jr. with the assistance of Solomon Sutker. After discussion of certain basic rural characteristics of the region, a profile of the nature of rural communities is given for each of

the more significant subregions of the South. This is based upon 71 rural studies, covering approximately the period 1930-1945, bibliography and digests of which appear in Appendix A. Rural church leaders may here find described the peculiarities of their own part of the larger South. Finally facts are given for Southern rural churches and implications are indicated.

Part II, *The Urban South*, is by Lee M. Brooks with the assistance of Evelyn C. Brooks and Sara E. Smith. Basic characteristics of the urban South are set forth. Then, grouping the cities into three size groups, their particular nature is described as revealed in 94 urban studies, covering in general the period 1930-1945, bibliography and digests of which are carried in Appendix B. Implications are finally pointed out for the urban church.

Part III, *Church-Community Relationships*, is by Gordon W. Blackwell. A technique is presented for local analysis of this problem, the methodological details of which are presented in Appendix C. Results and implications of such studies in ten selected communities, summarized here, point toward revitalization of the church in relation to community needs. The original church-community surveys are on file in the offices of the Executive Committee on Religious Education and Publication and in the Institute for Research in Social Science. Acknowledgment is made to the following regional directors of religious education and the assistant supervisors who aided them in the field study for the conscientious and persevering guidance which they gave the church-community surveys: *Brownsburg, Virginia*: T. K. Currie, assisted by J. C. Layman and Mrs. J. H. Wade; *Charleston, West Virginia*: David B. Walthall, assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Merrill; *Franklin, North Carolina*: James M. Carr, assisted by Mrs. Robert Gaines; *Greenville, South Carolina*: Le Roy P. Burney; *Kilgore, Texas*: W. B. Sullivan, assisted by Miss Lucille Russell; *Mansfield, Louisiana*: C. Knox Poole, assisted by the Rev. Boyd B. Underwood; *Nashville, Tennessee*: William M. Belk; *New Madrid, Missouri*: John J. Hayes, assisted by the Rev. and Mrs. Fred L. Reeves; *Reidsville, North Carolina*: J. O. Mann, assisted by Edward A. Conover; *Vicksburg, Mississippi*: R. L. Landis, assisted by the Rev. Jack B. McMichael and Miss Adeline Hill.

Mr. Blackwell has given general direction to the entire project and Katharine Jocher has done her usual thorough and skillful job of editing the volume for publication. Appreciation is due Louise Dalton for supervising the typing of the manuscript.

G. W. B.

L. M. B.

S. H. H., Jr.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina
September 1, 1948

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Part I

THE RURAL SOUTH

by

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

Chapter 1

RURAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE SOUTH

THERE have been many attempts to designate the regions of the South along with the rest of the United States. The South to the United States Bureau of the Census means sixteen states from Delaware to New Mexico, subdivided into the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central States. Another South—the Southeast and the Southwest—is outlined by Howard W. Odum in *Southern Regions of the United States*. The South as a field of activity for The Presbyterian Church in the United States does not include all of the area encompassed in the census South and yet it includes more than is encompassed in Odum's Southeast. The following states are included in the jurisdiction of this branch of the Presbyterian Church and serve generally as the basis for the South as treated in this volume: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland,¹ Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

An error in visualizing the South is to assume that it consists of a rather uniform area. On the contrary, the South is a highly diverse region. It is diverse in soils, climate, types of agriculture, population density, race ratios, attitudes, levels of education, rural-urban ratios, and in other ways too numerous to mention. Diversity in the South is almost as wide as diversity in the United States. What could be more diverse, for instance, than the social economy of a North Carolina mountain county and the social economy of a Bayou county of southern Louisiana?

The foundation of rural life is agriculture and the foundations of agriculture are the land that supports it, the quality of the people who work the land, and the techniques employed by the agricultural population in extracting their living from the soil. "Underneath all, the land" is the way one authority expresses the importance of land in our national economy.

PHYSICAL FACTORS

The physical layout of the South has been presented by different people in different ways. This section will use as a basis of its description of physical regions the plan followed by Hugh H. Bennett in his book, *Soil Conservation*.² Chapter 2, which deals with the subregional profile of southern rural communities, will use the rural cultural regions as outlined by A. R. Mangus in his study

1. In Maryland only the city of Baltimore and four counties which have churches affiliated with The Presbyterian Church in the United States are sometimes included in this study.

2. Hugh H. Bennett, *Soil Conservation* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939).

entitled *Rural Regions of the United States*.³ It is hoped that these two presentations of the southern regions will supplement each other and give the reader a better rounded picture.

The area covered by The Presbyterian Church in the United States is almost coterminous with three major natural regions as outlined by Dr. Bennett.⁴ These three major regions are divided into numerous subregions, all of which have a physical base as the determining factor. The three major regions are: (1) Atlantic and Gulf Coastal Plain; (2) Southern Appalachian; and (3) Ozark Highlands. Minor parts of the South fall also in the Great Plains, the Northern Appalachian, and the Edwards Plateau. These physiographic regions afford the stage on which the life drama of the rural South has been played. An understanding of them is necessary for any future planning.

Atlantic and Gulf Coastal Plain. Bennett locates this region as follows:⁵

The low, comparatively smooth country fronting on the middle and south Atlantic and on the Gulf constitutes the Atlantic-Gulf Coastal Plain Made up mainly of water-deposited material, it extends from the vicinity of Laredo, Tex., to the tip of Long Island, New York, and comprises approximately 284 million acres, or about 15 percent of the land area of continental United States. It covers, approximately, the southern and eastern third of Texas, all of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida, the southern and eastern half of Arkansas, narrow strips in southeastern Oklahoma and western Tennessee, the southern and western two-thirds of Alabama and Georgia, the eastern half of the Carolinas, the eastern third of Virginia, the eastern and southern two-thirds of Maryland, nearly all of Delaware, and the southern two-thirds of New Jersey. . . . The width of the region from Galveston, Tex., northward to the interior border in southern Oklahoma is about 350 miles; from Cape Sable, Fla., to the border in central Georgia is about 565 miles.

This region may be sketchily characterized as follows: flat to rolling topography; diversified soils often subject to erosion; heavy rainfall except in the western extremities; general farming with considerable cotton, corn, tobacco (in concentrated areas), oats for hay, sorghum for feed and syrup, peanuts (in concentrated areas), and various vegetables and fruits.

A more detailed picture of the wide physical variety in the Atlantic and Gulf Coastal Plain Region would require an analysis of its more important subregions, a task which cannot be attempted here. These physical subregions include the Middle Coastal Plain, Upper Coastal Plain, Mississippi-Alabama Black Belt, Clay Hill Area, Interior West-Gulf Coastal Plain, Texas Black Belt, Rio Grande Plain Area, Flatwoods, Gulf Coastal Prairie, Lower Mississippi Alluvial Plain-Terrace-Crowleys Ridge Area, Florida Rolling Sandy Lands. These physiographic subregions together comprise the Atlantic and Gulf Coastal Plain Re-

3. A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940).

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 617.

gion giving it certain homogeneity in broad, general physical characteristics and at the same time considerable heterogeneity when a closer look is taken.

Southern Appalachian. This region, comprising approximately 115 million acres, is located by Bennett in this way:⁶

[The Southern Appalachian Region] extends from Maryland southwesterly to central Alabama and from the Coastal Plain region in central Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia northwesterly to the Central Prairie region (the timbered border portion) in southern Indiana and Ohio. . . . It covers most of Kentucky and Tennessee, the western two-thirds . . . of Virginia, about half of North Carolina, more than a third of South Carolina, about half of Georgia, and a large area in northeastern Alabama.

The Southern Appalachian is hilly to mountainous with only half the land sufficiently smooth to plow; much erosion caused by steep contours and extremely heavy rainfall; general farming in the mountains with cotton, corn, tobacco, peaches, apples, small grain, and dairying in the Piedmont.

The subregional make-up of the Southern Appalachian Region includes the Piedmont, Blue Ridge Mountain Area, Appalachian Mountains and Plateau, and Highland Rim Area.

Ozark Highlands. Bennett identifies this region as follows:⁷

The Ozark Highlands includes an extensive region of elevated country in southern Missouri, northwestern Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma, aggregating approximately 40 million acres. . . . Although the region varies widely as to details of topography, soils, erosion conditions and agriculture, it is delineable into two main subdivisions: (1) the Northern Ozarks, comprising about 25 million acres in Missouri and northern Arkansas and representing that portion of the Highlands underlain principally by limestone formations; and (2) the Southern Ozarks, comprising 15 million acres in the Boston Mountain sector in northern Arkansas and the Ouachita Mountains of central-western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma. This southerly area is underlain by sandstone and shale.

The Northern Ozarks section has an undulating to hilly topography, while the Southern Ozarks is characteristically hilly to mountainous. The alluvial plain of the Arkansas River provides some excellent land for farming, generally cotton and corn. More general and self sufficing agriculture is found in the hilly and mountainous parts of the region.

Parts of Other Major Natural Regions. A small part of the South is included in the area designated by Bennett as Northern Appalachian. Included in this area are most of the mountain counties of Virginia and Maryland and all of West Virginia. The physical, economic, and social conditions of this extreme southern tip of Northern Appalachia differ very little from conditions in Southern Appalachia, and it is not necessary to go into further detail here.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 642-643.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 715-716.

A small part of the South is also included in the area designated as the Great Plains. In this area we find the western part of Oklahoma and the northwestern part of Texas. These areas are not generally thought of as being a part of the South except politically and to some extent geographically. The economic and social conditions and historic background have little of the Southern flavor and the influence of The Presbyterian Church in the United States is only nominal in this area occupied by sparsely settled people who get their living primarily from grazing and the extraction of minerals.

A final area which might be considered a subregion is designated by Bennett as the Edwards Plateau—Fort Worth Prairie—Cross Timbers area and identified as follows:⁸

[This region] comprises approximately 52 million acres of prairie, timbered, brush-covered, and cultivated country of generally rolling to rough topography, extending from southwestern Texas in an easterly-northerly direction across central Texas and Oklahoma. . . . Elevations range from about 800 feet above sea level in the Fort Worth Prairie to approximately 4,000 feet in parts of the Edwards Plateau.

Quality of Land. The standards of living of rural people are determined very largely by the quality of land on which they make their living. Table 1, compiled by the National Resources Board, shows the percentage distribution of land by grades for the various regions of the United States.

TABLE 1. PERCENT GRADES OF LAND BY REGIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Area	Grade of Land				
	1	2	3	4	5
All United States.....	5.3	11.1	18.1	19.1	46.4
Northeast	.71	16.94	25.61	30.67	26.06
South	1.53	10.40	28.20	32.08	27.79
Corn Belt	35.58	24.52	23.21	11.05	5.33
Lake States	13.73	28.66	17.13	15.03	25.45
100 Meridian	4.46	18.06	30.00	23.41	24.07
Rocky Mountains	0.00	.07	3.06	11.06	85.81
Pacific	.23	1.51	5.11	12.53	79.81

Source: Richard T. Ely and George S. Wehrwein, *Land Economics* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. 42. Based on "Preliminary Inventory of Land Productivity Classes of the United States," National Resources Board Report, 1934, p. 127.

This table shows that in the South only a very small percentage, 1.53, of its land is grade one (the best), and only 10.4 percent is grade two land. Nearly 90 percent of the land area of the South is classified as grades three, four, or five—the latter two of which are practically worthless from an agricultural standpoint.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 771.

The unfavorable rank of the South in land quality is due primarily to the mineral deficiency of our soils. The South is an area of heavy rainfall, and it is extremely difficult to build up soils with favorable amounts of chemicals essential to plant life, such as nitrogen, phosphorus, calcium, and the trace elements of other minerals necessary for plant growth.

The main asset of the South is climate. There is a long and favorable growing season through the entire South and also the best rainfall in America, in fact, one of the most favorable in the world. It is mainly our heavy rainfall, however, which prevents the accumulation of fertility in the soil. Fortunately, fertility can be built into the soil for current use by scientific farming and the application of commercial fertilizers. When our soils are properly managed, excellent yields can be secured over a large part of the South. When good farming has not been practiced continuously, the lands have deteriorated. Millions of acres have had their fertility exhausted. The exhaustion has been by cash crop farming, by erosion which has been severe due to the clean culture farming methods practiced, and by heavy rainfall and the semi-rough to rough topography found over much of the South, especially in the Piedmont and mountainous areas.

Poor soil means poor yield. Louis Bromfield, in his *Pleasant Valley*, has the following to say:⁹

. . . The poor physique and intelligence and initiative of . . . the poor white and the sharecropper of our Southern States is born of poor diet and worn-out soil, bereft of the phosphorus, the calcium, the minerals which go to make better physical strength and intelligence and good citizenship. As our soil grows depleted, as our diet becomes more limited, the stamina of a nation or an individual goes down hill. The evidence that poor soil makes poor people and poor people make poor soil worse and so on *ad infinitum* is written across the face of the whole of the earth and of mankind itself.

Sentimentalists and reformers have made much of the wretched condition of the tenant farmer, the sharecropper, the farm laborer of the Southern and border states, and rarely have they exaggerated the situation. The measures of rehabilitating these people have been almost entirely upon educational or economic lines, both of which solutions are in the long run superficial ones. In almost every case, these unfortunate people are not simply victims of absentee ownership, of an antiquated and vicious economic system and poor educational facilities. They are, primarily, victims of malnutrition, bad diet, and above all—poor soil! No matter what the heritage of blood you cannot make an enterprising and successful farm population of people who not only exist upon a wretched and unbalanced diet but upon a diet of food grown on miserably worn-out soil. You cannot make an intelligent, healthy, energetic and prosperous population, nor a population even capable of education, of people who haven't enough calcium or phosphorus in their bodies. You cannot get calcium, phosphorus and all the other elements and trace minerals out of poor or worn-out soils where they no longer exist.

9. Louis Bromfield, *Pleasant Valley* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), pp. 106-107, 112.

Most of the rural population of the Southern or border states live upon worn-out soils from which the minerals vital to human health, energy and intelligence, have disappeared either through a vicious and greedy system of agriculture or because the soil was poor and thin in the beginning and its richness was soon exhausted. No amount of subsidies, no change in economic conditions will ever alter the tragic and pitiful condition of the people in these areas so long as bad diet and miserably poor and worn-out soils are the physiological bases of their existence.

For a thorough discussion of soils and their quality and the relationship of soil quality to nutrition and health, we recommend *Soils and Men*, a Year Book issued by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1938. Our main point is that infertile land and small farms produce low income and low human vitality. We do not mean to say that the South does not have some good farms, some good land, and some good farming. There is a great deal of good farming and some good land in the South. There are also some good nutritional practices. But it is also true that there are hundreds of thousands of farmers cultivating land which at present is of low productivity in quality, and the produce of this land is of very low nutritional value. The end product is low income for these hundreds of thousands of farmers and inadequate nourishment for them and their families, as well as for what livestock they may happen to possess.

POPULATION

A vast amount of data has been compiled on the southern population. The following are merely a few observations as they relate to the South in general. The best reference on this subject is *All These People* by Vance.¹⁰

The Southeast in 1940 had 28,261,829 inhabitants or 21.5 percent of the population of the United States. The Southwest had 9,782,337 inhabitants or 7.4 percent of the Nation's population. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Southeast had 17.4 percent of the land area but only 11.5 percent of the wealth of the Nation. The Southwest had 18.9 percent of the area and 5.2 percent of the wealth. Thus, the Southeast and the Southwest together had approximately 29 percent of the population but less than 17 percent of the Nation's wealth. In the rural South, comprising for this study 15 States, the District of Columbia, and four counties in Maryland, there resided in 1940, 27,351,354 people who are the chief concern in this part of our study. These rural residents constituted 62 percent of the region's population.

10. Rupert B. Vance, *All These People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945). The remainder of this chapter relies heavily upon this book by Vance except where other sources are specified. Vance focuses mainly on the Southeastern States—Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Our observations will also occasionally refer to the Southwestern States—Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Two of these last states, Oklahoma and Texas, are in the province of The Presbyterian Church in the United States. Since these two states are by far the most prominent in terms of population in the Southwestern group, it should be borne in mind that data for the Southwest may be considered as largely representative of the picture for Oklahoma and Texas. The exclusion of New Mexico and Arizona would not materially change the data.

From the standpoint of origin of population, the Southeast has higher proportions of English, Scotch, and Irish than does the United States as a whole. We generally claim to be more Anglo-Saxon than the rest of the Nation. However, we must not forget that the Negro ratio of the South is far beyond that in any other section of the country.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note the religious affiliations of the population of the Southeast at the beginning of the American Revolution. In the Southeast 30.1 percent of all congregations were Baptist compared with 15.3 percent for the entire United States; 26.0 percent in the Southeast were Episcopalian against 15.4 percent for the United States; and 24.6 percent were Presbyterian as against 18.2 percent for the United States. If the Southeast and the rest of the United States were compared, the differences, of course, would be even greater.

The growth of population in the Southeast since 1790 compares favorably with the growth of the Nation as a whole. There has been a substantial increase during every decade, the largest percentage increase being 39.0 from 1790 to 1800, and the smallest 3.5 from 1860 to 1870. Before the Civil War there was a tendency for the slave population to increase relatively faster than the white population. However, since the Civil War the white rate of increase has surpassed the Negro rate of increase in every decade except one. The rate of increase for the white population has been especially noticeable since 1910. In fact, during this period the rate of Negro growth per decade has ranged from only 0.7 to 9.5 percent. The rate of growth of whites has been from two to twenty times the Negro rates in each of recent decades. The South has remained primarily rural but is now urbanizing more rapidly than any other region of the country.

In the ratio of males to females in the total population, 9 of the 11 Southeastern States have a surplus of females over males in the total population. The surplus of males in the other southern States is only nominal. The only other States with more females than males are five northern urban States to which large numbers of young females have migrated for occupational reasons during the last few decades. The sex ratio tends to favor males in the rural population of the Southeast. The main reason is that in predominantly agricultural areas men tend to remain on the farm while women, seeking employment, go to the urban centers.

One of the other outstanding features of the southern population is the large ratio of youth. In the Southeast 30.6 percent of the population consists of children and youth under 15 years of age, and 28.8 percent of the population of the Southwest is under this age. The proportion for the United States is 25 percent. For the age group 15-49 years inclusive, all regions have approximately the same proportion, averaging between 52 and 56 percent, with the Southeast and the Southwest just under the national figure. On the other hand, the Southeast and Southwest have relatively small proportions in the age brackets over 50. The ratio for the Southeast is 16 percent and for the Southwest 16.7 percent compared with the national proportion of 20.4 percent.

More than one-third of all the children in the United States up to 14 years of age are found in the Southeast and Southwest combined. There are almost 12 million more people in the Northeast than in the Southeast but the number of children up to 14 years of age is approximately the same in the two regions. Perhaps there is no more significant population fact than the prevalence of youth in the South and the contribution made by the South to the maintenance of the Nation's population. And the proportion of children in the population is considerably higher in rural than in urban areas. This fact has ramifications too numerous to enumerate. The only State outside of the region with a youth ratio as high as that of the South is Utah. The fact that the South has a low ratio of older people does not necessarily mean that people do not live to old age in the South. It simply means that a region cannot have relatively high percentages in all age groups.

The South is the area of highest birth rates and will probably remain so for many decades. However, the trend in birth rates in the South has followed the downward trend for the Nation. There has been a lag of two or three decades in the South as compared with the rest of the country. The white birth rate for the Nation per 1,000 population has steadily declined from an estimated 55 in 1800 to approximately 18 in 1940. All of the southern States except Florida have fertility ratios (children under five per 1,000 women 15-45 years of age) above the average for the Nation. In fact, the only States that compare favorably with the South in this respect are found in the Rocky Mountain area and there the population is rather sparse. And again it must be noted that birth rates and fertility ratios are higher among rural people.

The death rates for the United States and the Southeast have declined at approximately the same ratio during the recent decades, from 14 in 1917 to approximately 10 per 1,000 population in 1940. This means that the change in total population due to natural increase (surplus of births over deaths) is higher in the South than in any other part of the United States except in two or three Rocky Mountain States. The rate of natural increase for the United States in 1940 was 7.1 percent. For the Southeast it was 11 percent and for the Southwest slightly lower. Both rates are considerably higher than for any other area in the Nation. The rate of natural increase is approximately the same for both the white and the Negro population with a slight advantage in favor of the whites. It is somewhat higher for the rural than for the urban population.

One of the reasons for the high birth rate of the South is the fact that marriages take place at earlier ages in this region and also there is considerable illegitimacy especially among the Negro population. Approximately 20 percent of all births in the South are to mothers under 20 years of age. The Southeast is highest in this respect with the Southwest next, while in the Northeast the rate is less than half the rate for the South. Illegitimacy among Negroes is roughly 17 percent of all Negro births in the United States. On the other hand, illegitimacy among the whites accounts for only 2 percent of all births, again with the southern States averaging about the same as the United States. The large number of illegitimate Negro births causes the South to rank poorly on this score.

The above facts mean that families in the South, especially in rural areas, tend to be large. Ten southern States from Virginia to Florida comprise a solid block where the average number of persons per occupied dwelling unit is four or more. Only two other States in the Union, North Dakota and New Mexico, come up to this average.

What is responsible for the Southeast's high fertility? Do the people of the region have a higher birth rate because they are more rural, because they are younger, or because of their racial composition? To the extent that southern fertility is found not to depend on these factors, it must be due simply to the tendency of women of given ages to have more children; that is, to a higher age specific fertility. Vance concludes that the main factor in the South is simply the tendency of women in the region, irrespective of race, rurality, or age difference, to have more children. "The Southeast appears to have a fertility differential in excess of what can be accounted for by other measurable demographic and social characteristics."¹¹ Significant factors in the high birth rate are poverty, lack of education, and low standards of living on the part of the masses of people, especially in rural areas. Poor people tend to get married early because they do not feel the necessity of accumulating wealth before entering marriage. Early marriages perhaps more than any other reason cause high birth rates.

MIGRATION

It has been shown that the South has the highest rate of natural increase in population of any region of the Nation. This population could have been accommodated in the South only by a proportionate or exceptional expansion of our economy. Since expansion in agriculture and industry has not kept pace with population growth, it has been necessary for several million people to leave the South in order to find employment elsewhere. A few rural areas have been desolated to such an extent that they have fewer people today than at the time of the first census in 1790. The South has done more than its part in supplying population to other parts of the United States. We hear much about the unfavorable balance of economic trade for the South, but we hear little about an even more important and significant matter, namely, the region's unfavorable balance of trade in population. The millions who have left the South have probably benefited themselves in doing so because they could not find equal opportunities in the region. However, some of this out-flow of population could have been reduced had we developed our potential resources more intelligently.

Vance has pointed out that the southern population has taken part in three great migrations: (1) the westward expansion of the Cotton Kingdom; (2) extensive interregional migration to the Northeast and Middle States; and (3) the movement from the country to the region's own cities.

The expansion of the Cotton Kingdom began with the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and during the next 100 years the entire area now devoted to cotton was developed. During the last three decades or so, King Cotton has been

11. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

sick; the area devoted to cotton has shrunk from approximately 48 million acres to around 20 million acres. The decline of cotton, especially in the Southeastern States, has been an important factor in the migration of people to the North, in the movement of rural people to the region's own cities, in the decline of number of farms, and especially in the decline of farm tenancy which has been rather astounding since 1920.

The Southeast alone has experienced a net loss of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million native whites to other areas since 1870. The net loss between 1920 and 1930 alone was more than one million. It is interesting to note that, for every decade except one, more males than females have migrated outside the area with the result that today, as already noted, the South, especially in its cities, has the largest ratio of females to males of any section of the country. All the Southeastern States except Florida have suffered net losses in native population through interstate migration. It is possible that by the present time the two Southwestern States of Texas and Oklahoma have suffered losses largely because of drought conditions during the thirties and the recent mechanization of agriculture which has been extremely rapid in that area. On a relative basis Negro migration has greatly exceeded native white migration out of the South, one Negro of every four born in the Southeast living outside the region in 1930.

Relative to the great migration of southern rural people to the rapidly growing towns and cities within the region, Vance writes as follows: "... it is estimated that the regional movement to cities of the population [of the Southeast] since birth was about 76 percent of the movement outside the area."¹² Low farm incomes, boll weevil invasion in the old South, submarginal farming conditions in the Southern-Appalachian area and a high rate of rural births everywhere help to explain the losses of population from Southern farms. Nonfarm areas show gains in every southern State. The decade of greatest migration was from 1920 to 1930 which as Vance puts it, "resembled nothing so much as the opening of a great safety valve whereby the pent-up pressures of the South's population could seek economic release from a crowded agriculture."¹³

Vance concludes:¹⁴

The preceding discussion indicates the strength of forces behind normal outward migration from the Southeast. They show what serious effects the reversal or stoppage of the rural-urban flow would have in an area where farms are already too small and too much given over to erosion and tenancy. The total force of migration has not been interregional, for our figures have presented migration to towns and cities in the region as well as outside. They are valuable in indicating how impossible it will be to stop the rural-urban drift in the Southeast as long as its high birth rate continues. There is not sufficient demand for farm products nor sufficient land, good, poor, and indifferent, to provide for the farm surplus if migration were cut off. Certainly our regional figures cast doubt on the ability of southern cities to absorb all the population increase on southern farms.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

FARM POPULATION AND LAND USE

With current interest in the family sized farm as an ideal in national policy, it is significant that more than three-fourths of the farms of the Southeast are less than 100 acres in size, with an average of 81 acres of total area and 45 acres classed as cropland. According to Vance, "this small acreage is associated with crops which demand a great deal of labor and possess relatively high value per acre. . . ."¹⁵

Perhaps the outstanding trend with regard to agriculture has been the decline in the number of improved acres per farm in the Southeast. There has been a tendency for cultivated acres per farm to increase in most of the areas outside of the Southeast. For instance, in 1850 the average farmer in the United States cultivated 78 acres, while in 1940 the average was 87 acres. On the other hand, the average in the Southeast in 1850 was 101.2 improved acres per farm, while in 1940 it was 43.5 acres. In some parts of the South the decline has been even greater, as for instance, in North Carolina, where improved acres per farm average around 21. These are averages only. As a matter of fact, around two-thirds of all the farms in the South are actually smaller than the regional average. One very large farm offsets many small farms in an arithmetic average. The middle farm in an array by size would be considerably smaller than the arithmetic average. The truth of this is revealed by the 1935 Census of Agriculture which shows that 79 percent of the farm operators of the Southeast had the use of only 38 percent of the total farm land and cultivated about one-half of the land actually in crops. One-fourth of all the operators in the Southeast in 1935 had the use of less than 3.8 percent of the total land and cultivated only 6.4 percent of the land in crops. In other words, one-fourth of all farmers in the Southeast cultivated one-sixteenth of the land in crops. Perhaps three-fourths of our total income is produced by one-fourth of our farmers.

Practically all the farm management experts believe that farms in the South are too small to be efficient business units, making the best use of their labor, land, and necessary overhead investment. In the main the poor agricultural practices in the South are due to the necessity of intensively cropping the land by hundreds of thousands of farmers whose acreage is too small to allow them to engage in anything but intensive practices. They are forced to crop their land to death and finally to move on when the land has become exhausted.

The 1940 Census of Agriculture shows that almost two-thirds of the farms in the Nation produced less than \$1,000 of gross value of products in 1939. Over half of these farms were in the Southeast where more than four-fifths of all farms were at this relatively low level. Two-fifths of the region's farms produced less than \$400 worth of products and three-fifths less than \$600. Farm income has increased tremendously since 1939 but the relative position of the southern States has improved little, if at all. Table 2 shows the gross and realized net farm income (including farm products sold, traded and consumed on the farm) for all of the States for the year 1944, one of the best agricultural years in our

15. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

TABLE 2. TOTAL GROSS AND REALIZED NET FARM INCOME, BY STATES, 1944

States by Rank	Gross Farm Income Per Farm	Production Expenses Per Farm	Realized Net Income	
			From Agriculture	From Govt. Payments
UNITED STATES	\$ 4,150	\$ 2,011	\$ 2,139	\$ 130
1. California	14,547	7,795	6,752	345
2. Nevada	9,520	4,542	4,978	183
3. Montana	7,086	3,253	3,833	257
4. Iowa	7,506	3,780	3,726	130
5. Wyoming	7,509	3,862	3,647	194
6. Idaho	6,804	3,283	3,521	313
7. Arizona	7,752	4,294	3,458	145
8. North Dakota	6,650	3,198	3,452	169
9. Delaware	9,880	6,440	3,440	150
10. FLORIDA	6,265	2,873	3,392	103
11. Washington	6,591	3,367	3,224	168
12. Utah	5,736	2,580	3,156	236
13. Illinois	6,212	3,284	2,928	152
14. Oregon	5,631	2,846	2,785	156
15. Colorado	6,821	4,096	2,725	216
16. Wisconsin	4,874	2,171	2,703	342
17. Minnesota	4,930	2,264	2,666	175
18. New Jersey	8,688	6,094	2,594	327
19. Kansas	5,457	2,915	2,542	140
20. Nebraska	5,867	3,352	2,515	135
21. South Dakota	5,129	2,726	2,403	149
22. TEXAS	4,074	1,895	2,179	108
23. Indiana	4,301	2,124	2,177	103
24. NORTH CAROLINA	2,993	912	2,081	58
25. New Mexico	4,084	2,037	2,047	112
26. OKLAHOMA	3,539	1,528	2,011	125
27. MISSOURI	3,435	1,473	1,962	91
28. Ohio	3,729	1,758	1,971	118
29. Michigan	3,263	1,456	1,807	140
30. New York	5,085	3,290	1,795	306
31. GEORGIA	2,659	942	1,717	61
32. MARYLAND	4,459	2,772	1,687	179
33. Rhode Island	6,461	4,835	1,626	304
34. Massachusetts	5,549	3,946	1,603	190
35. Connecticut	5,610	4,008	1,602	221
36. Pennsylvania	3,840	2,334	1,506	175
37. VIRGINIA	2,609	1,115	1,494	57
38. Maine	4,055	2,567	1,488	132
39. ARKANSAS	2,195	786	1,409	70
40. SOUTH CAROLINA	2,429	1,036	1,393	74
41. New Hampshire	3,885	2,520	1,365	135
42. LOUISIANA	2,307	978	1,329	128
43. KENTUCKY	2,072	759	1,313	58
44. Vermont	3,909	2,634	1,275	331
45. MISSISSIPPI	1,829	591	1,238	77
46. TENNESSEE	1,910	695	1,215	65
47. ALABAMA	1,803	621	1,182	69
48. WEST VIRGINIA	1,459	628	831	46

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (October 1945).

history. It is observed that all except one of the southern States fall below the national average in net income from agriculture. All except three of the twelve lowest ranking states are in the South.

FARM TENANCY

One of the outstanding features of the rural South is the prevalence of tenancy as a system of farming. Farm tenancy is too large and complex a subject to be dealt with adequately in this brief background sketch. Suffice it to say that farm tenancy is more prevalent in the South than in any other region. It is Vance's opinion that the link between tenancy and cotton is almost as close as ever. In fact, outside of the Cotton Belt the South's farm tenancy rates are little worse than for the Nation as a whole. Approximately one-third of the farmers of the South who do not grow cotton are tenants, while nearly three-fourths of those in cotton production are tenants. Farm tenancy is also excessive among farmers who grow tobacco and other so-called cash crops.

Quoting Vance again: "More than in any other region of the country, tenure status in the Southeast tends to coincide with social rank and economic status of the people on the land."¹⁶ As a general rule, tenants in the North and West cultivate more land than do owners and have more income. There is little or no stigma attached to tenancy in these regions. On the other hand, Vance has pointed out that in the South the sharecropper particularly is nearest in lineal descent to the ante-bellum slave, while the land owner has the prestige of social position and independence.

Approximately one-half of all the farms in the Southeast and the Southwest in 1940 were operated by tenants. More than a half million of these tenants are classed as croppers, which means that they do not own their work animals. Contrary to the general impression, tenancy is not just a Negro problem. As a matter of fact, three-fifths of all the tenants of the Southeast are white farmers. However, the Negro tenancy rates are higher than for the whites, especially in those States with heavy proportions of Negroes engaged in agriculture.

Incidentally, an important feature of southern agriculture is the unpaid family worker who made up to 18 percent of all farm workers in the South in 1940. One out of every two unpaid family workers in the United States are in the Southeast alone, numbering approximately 634,000 in the region.

If the trend in farm tenancy which began in the depression of the 1930's continues, it will not be long before the farm tenant problem in the South will be materially reduced. Whether this trend will continue no one can say, but the chances seem to be that the decline of tenancy will continue for some time. It depends largely on what happens to cotton in the domestic and world markets and to a lesser degree to other cash crops. The entire area from North Carolina to Oklahoma and Texas lost farm tenants during the depression decade, 1930 to 1940. The same area had an increase in the number of farm owners. The number of farms operated by owners for the entire South increased around ten

16. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

percent, while at the same time this area lost approximately one-fifth of all farms operated by tenants and better than one-third of all farms operated by croppers.

The outstanding phase of this matter was the decline of the Negro as a farm operator in the South. The Southeast during the decade had a decline of 20.6 percent in farms operated by Negroes, while the Southwest had a decrease of 31.1 percent. The decrease of Negro farmers was mainly a decrease of Negro tenants. Not only did Negro tenancy decline but also there was a slight loss in the number of farms operated by Negro owners. This is in striking contrast with the increase of slightly more than 100,000 in the number of farms operated by white owners. The largest decreases in Negro tenants occurred in Georgia which lost 33.1 percent, Arkansas which lost 31.8 percent, Kentucky 51.6 percent, South Carolina 28.0 percent, and North Carolina 26.5 percent. Every southern State had a decline in Negro tenants ranging from 15 to more than 50 percent.

This is probably the outstanding rural trend in the South in recent times if not since the Civil War. It simply means that farm tenancy is on the decline and the Negro as a feature of southern agriculture is also on the decline. What has happened to all of these Negroes we do not know too clearly. Many of them have had their status changed to wage hands on farms. It seems fairly certain that most of them have gone to town, both inside and outside the South. The census shows that the urban increase of Negroes in the Southeast from 1930 to 1940 amounted to 458,796 or 20.6 percent. This would alone account for at least half of the Negro tenants who disappeared as farm operators.

Let us hope that the decline of farm tenancy in the South will continue. The economic and social conditions in southern agriculture have improved with the decline that has already taken place. Agriculture is more diversified, the conservation of land resources is more prevalent, the distribution of farm income is more equitable, and undoubtedly the tenants who have left the farm have improved their economic and social status.

There never has been a good farm tenant system, although some are better than others. Farm ownership has all of the advantages and none of the disadvantages. Some of the economic results of farm tenancy under southern conditions have been (1) a steady decrease in the average size of farm; (2) depletion of soil fertility; (3) hand-made cash crops which have not used effectively human, horse, and machine power; (4) cash crop farming which has all but prohibited livestock development; (5) a minimum retention of the considerable wealth by the people who produce it and by the regions in which it is produced; (6) tenancy which is an unstable and unsafe basis for agriculture; (7) excessive attention to cash crops which means a gamble with market prices; and (8) neglect of home raised supplies.

From a social standpoint the worst features of tenancy grow out of the instability of the people. The farm tenants of the Nation, and especially of the South, are constantly on the move. They are engaged primarily in raising a particular cash crop and are generally free to move at the end of the crop year. That they do move is shown by the Census of Agriculture which reveals that, as of 1935, in the southern States an average of 35.6 percent of all tenants had

occupied the farms on which they were living less than one year; 20.3 percent had been on the farm one year and not more than two years; 22.3 percent had been on the same farm from two to four years; 12.1 percent from five to nine years; and only 9.7 percent had occupied the same farm for ten years or more. On the other hand, in spite of the excessive mobility of American farmers, 6 percent of the owners had been on the farm less than one year and approximately 60 percent had occupied their farms ten or more years. Moving from farm to farm, or from farm to town and back, is not confined to Negroes. There is even more mobility on the part of the white tenants.¹⁷

A number of undesirable social conditions are directly attributable to farm tenancy. Tenancy retards public education and everything connected with schools and intellectual development. Tenancy has its bad effects in the realm of morals. Church membership, church attendance, and church support are adversely affected. Religion of the emotional type is more prevalent among tenants. Tenancy breeds class consciousness which is always destructive. The South to a high degree is characterized by landed aristocracy and land orphanage which is bad for democracy. Witness the sort of public officials who ride into office in the South by stirring up class consciousness and appeals to ignorance and prejudice. The instability of tenancy hinders the promotion of rural social organizations of all sorts. Farm tenancy is the deadliest foe to cooperative enterprise. The rural South is often referred to as the Sahara of cooperative organization.

Home ownership, it is held by some, tends to bring out the highest and noblest qualities in man. The farm and home owner is a home lover, home defender, and community builder. For the tenant the incentive is lacking.

HEALTH

There are many more subjects which could and should be treated in connection with this bird's-eye view of the rural South. It would be revealing, for instance, to go exhaustively into the field of health. We would find that the South, especially its rural areas, is characterized by high birth rates on one hand and high infant mortality rates on the other. There is a fairly close correlation between the high birth rates and high death rates, as shown in Table 3 dealing with births and deaths in the United States for the year 1944. All but two of the southern States (Arkansas and Missouri) have an infant mortality rate higher than the national average.

We would find also that the South ranks low in number of physicians and in hospital facilities. Practically all of the States at or near bottom in the distribution of physicians and in hospital facilities relative to population are southern States along with a few rural western States. The South has a very dense rural population, as rural populations go. Dense population should be conducive to medical services. The low rank of the South in medical care is mainly due to the low income of the rural people of the region, both white and Negro.

17. T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), chap. 8.

TABLE 3. BIRTHS AND INFANT DEATH RATES, BY STATES, 1944

<i>States by Rank</i>	<i>Live Births</i>		<i>Infant Deaths</i>
	<i>Number of Births</i>	<i>Rate per Thousand Population</i>	<i>Rate per Thousand Live Births</i>
UNITED STATES	2,794,800	20.8	39.7
1. New Mexico	15,585	29.1	89.1
2. SOUTH CAROLINA	51,467	26.4	54.9
3. ALABAMA	74,415	25.7	45.5
4. MISSISSIPPI	56,940	25.5	44.1
5. Utah	16,180	25.5	33.9
6. NORTH CAROLINA	90,629	24.9	45.4
7. North Dakota	13,530	24.9	35.4
8. Idaho	12,241	24.6	33.9
9. LOUISIANA	61,050	23.8	46.2
10. TEXAS	165,900	23.7	50.4
11. GEORGIA	76,540	23.7	44.5
12. WEST VIRGINIA	41,304	23.5	52.0
13. KENTUCKY	64,225	23.4	46.6
14. TENNESSEE	68,272	23.0	45.5
15. Montana	10,943	22.6	36.1
16. VIRGINIA	69,175	22.4	47.1
17. South Dakota	12,769	22.1	34.8
18. Wyoming	5,635	22.1	41.2
19. ARKANSAS	41,240	22.0	34.7
20. Washington	44,528	21.8	33.8
21. Minnesota	56,113	21.7	31.2
22. Maine	17,768	21.7	46.6
23. OKLAHOMA	46,725	21.5	41.1
24. Delaware	5,993	21.3	48.7
25. California	179,123	21.1	34.4
26. Michigan	114,700	21.1	37.9
27. Nevada	3,028	21.1	50.2
28. Indiana	71,354	21.0	34.5
29. MARYLAND	43,915	20.9	41.4
30. Vermont	6,824	20.8	40.6
31. Colorado	23,931	20.5	49.4
32. Wisconsin	61,547	20.4	32.0
33. FLORIDA	48,418	20.4	45.5
34. Arizona	14,225	20.2	68.8
35. Iowa	46,564	20.0	33.0
36. Nebraska	24,575	20.0	33.0
37. Kansas	34,976	19.6	33.2
38. Oregon	24,150	19.5	30.5
39. Ohio	133,598	19.4	38.5
40. Connecticut	34,278	19.2	30.7
41. Pennsylvania	178,370	18.8	40.0
42. Illinois	142,005	18.5	32.4
43. New Hampshire	8,548	18.5	37.7
44. Rhode Island	13,754	18.3	35.3
45. Massachusetts	78,209	18.3	33.0
46. MISSOURI	67,990	18.1	37.6
47. New Jersey	76,265	18.0	34.0
48. New York	229,534	17.8	32.8
49. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	15,758	17.7	44.8

Source: *Health Bulletin*, North Carolina State Board of Health (Raleigh, May 1946), p. 15.

One of the best indices of the use of medical facilities is the percentage of births attended by physicians. In so far as the white population is concerned, the South compares fairly favorably with the rest of the Nation. On the other hand, around half of all the Negro children born in the South are unattended by a physician at time of birth. The proportions run from 2 percent in West Virginia to 80 percent in South Carolina and Arkansas. Families which do not have a physician attending the birth of a child are not likely to patronize doctors and hospital facilities except in extreme emergencies and all too often not even under these circumstances.¹⁸

EDUCATION

Another topic which ought to be explored fully, if space permitted, is the field of education. The South ranks well in educational effort. The proportion of the total income spent on education by the southern States ranks favorably with the rest of the Nation. It is not lack of effort but lack of income which explains the fact that the southern States fall in almost a solid group at the bottom in all calculations designed to show the educational index. The especially weak spots in the South are the rural schools and all schools for Negroes. Several States in the region have recently adopted programs of equal educational facilities and equal teachers' salaries regardless of race. On the other hand, some parts of the South seem to have little more interest in the education of Negroes than they had a half century ago. Negro schools in some of the States of the deep South are unbelievably and notoriously poor. In spite of efforts toward rural-urban equalization of support for education, rural schools are generally much poorer than schools in the more wealthy towns and cities.

Perhaps the best index of the quality of education over a period of years is the percentage of the adult population found at various grade levels. The 1940 Census shows that about 6 percent of the people of the South twenty-five years of age or over have not completed the first grade. In addition, approximately 20 percent have gone no further than the fourth grade. This means that fully one-fourth of the adult population of the South has less than a fifth grade education.

It is doubtful that most southern States will ever materially bridge the gap between their present position in education as compared with the rest of the United States on their own steam alone. A poor State can go only so far. Educational facilities must, like other things, be geared to wealth and income. The main hope for the South lies in Federal aid, and strangely enough some of the strongest opposition to Federal aid to schools comes from the one region which stands to benefit most from such a program.

18. *University of North Carolina News Letter*, XXVI, No. 8 (July 17, 1940).

Chapter 2

SUBREGIONAL PROFILES OF SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITIES*

THIS chapter is mainly a synthesis of the digests of rural community surveys that have been made in the South within recent years. A bibliography of the studies and the digests themselves constitute Appendix A in Part IV. Chapter 1 has portrayed the regional make-up of the South largely from the point of view of physiography and agricultural conditions. In this chapter the subregions of the South follow those developed by A. R. Mangus in his *Rural Regions of the United States*, and much of the generalized subregional description is based on Mangus. In this synthesis the digests are grouped by subregions and the chief rural community features of each subregion are reported. We have found no community surveys for several subregions, but these will have a few of their general rural social features presented. The location of the Mangus regions and of the areas covered by the rural studies on which this chapter is largely based may be seen in Figure 1, pages 22-23.

MEANING OF RURAL COMMUNITY

Before entering upon the discussion of subregions and rural communities in the South, it may be helpful to say a few words about the rural community as a sociological concept. Let it be understood that technically there are few truly rural communities in America. We have scores of thousands of what we call rural communities for want of a better name. What we have in America are more properly called neighborhoods. We think of a community, however, as a larger population group, made up usually of several neighborhoods, that is, a larger group functioning in a rather loose way as a community. Let us take a look at what several rural sociologists have to say about the rural community.

Kolb and Brunner characterize the rural community in this way:¹

Every farmer's gate opens onto a road and that road leads to a village or town. Because of this web of communication and transportation, there is an intermesh of town and country relationships. Just as the country looks increasingly to the village or town for many services, such as education, recreation, and merchandising, and just as the village or town is more and more depending upon the country for trade, raw materials, and patronage of its institutions, so the two in this reciprocal relation are becoming the town-country community of modern rural society.

*This chapter was prepared largely by Solomon Sutker, research assistant in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbered digests of rural community studies in Appendix A, also prepared by Mr. Sutker. Studies digested generally cover the period 1930-1945.

1. J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), p. 109.

Thus a sense of complexity should enter any definition of the community in the contemporary American rural scene. Wilson Gee introduces the element of economics into his definition of rural community;² whereas J. M. Gillette emphasizes it as a social unit:³

By a rural community is meant a population of low density inhabiting a wide area and having a consciousness of kind based on common interests and modes of living and working; whose members communicate and cooperate on the basis of one or more interests with central housing; whose chief industry is agricultural extraction; social organizations and reactions are relatively few and simple, and correspondingly modified by social separations and mode of production, and whose chief social dependence and resort is the family.

From another angle, Dwight Sanderson, in an attempt to put across his concept of the community as a sociological group,⁴ quotes N. L. Sims. But let Dr. Sims speak for himself:⁵

Any one thing in common makes a community; many things in common make a stronger one; and all the things we have seen to be community factors, when held in common make the most complete and the strongest community. Very rarely, if ever, do all these agencies coincide and work together in any one neighborhood to form this complete community. Nor, in truth, is it necessary that they should in order to have an entirely satisfactory rural society. Neither a naturally bounded locality, single type of agriculture, ethnic solidarity, nor any religious interest is absolutely essential. The really essential "thing in common" for an adequate community is a common interest, a common consciousness, and an awareness of the same to such a degree that free and effective co-operation results.

In a later work, Sims distinguishes between the neighborhood and the community:⁶

... sociologists are coming to confine the term rural community to the rural areas or at most to such areas as are unified by institutions that minister to the chief needs of country people. In like manner, the term neighborhood is being reserved for the smaller areas where personal contacts prevail and revolve about only one or two interests.

In any analysis of the structure of a rural community it would appear necessary to classify the various types of rural communities. This is the approach used by Sims in his consideration of the Ancient Agricultural Community, Colonial American Agricultural Communities, the Present-day Rural Community, the Country Village, and Planned Communities.⁷

2. Wilson Gee, *The Social Economics of Agriculture* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 432 ff.

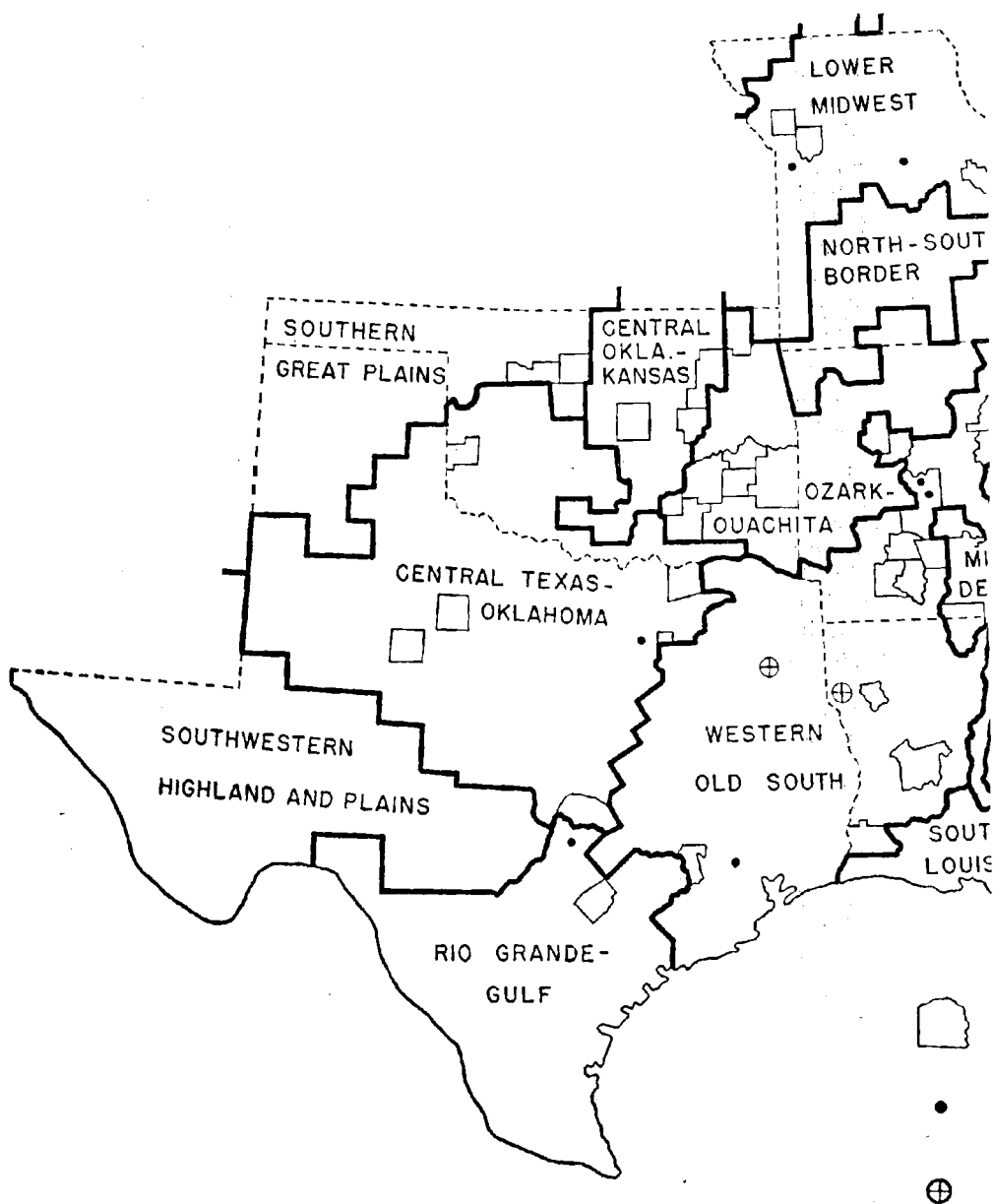
3. John M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 737.

4. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1932), p. 1.

5. Newell L. Sims, *The Rural Community* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), p. 151.

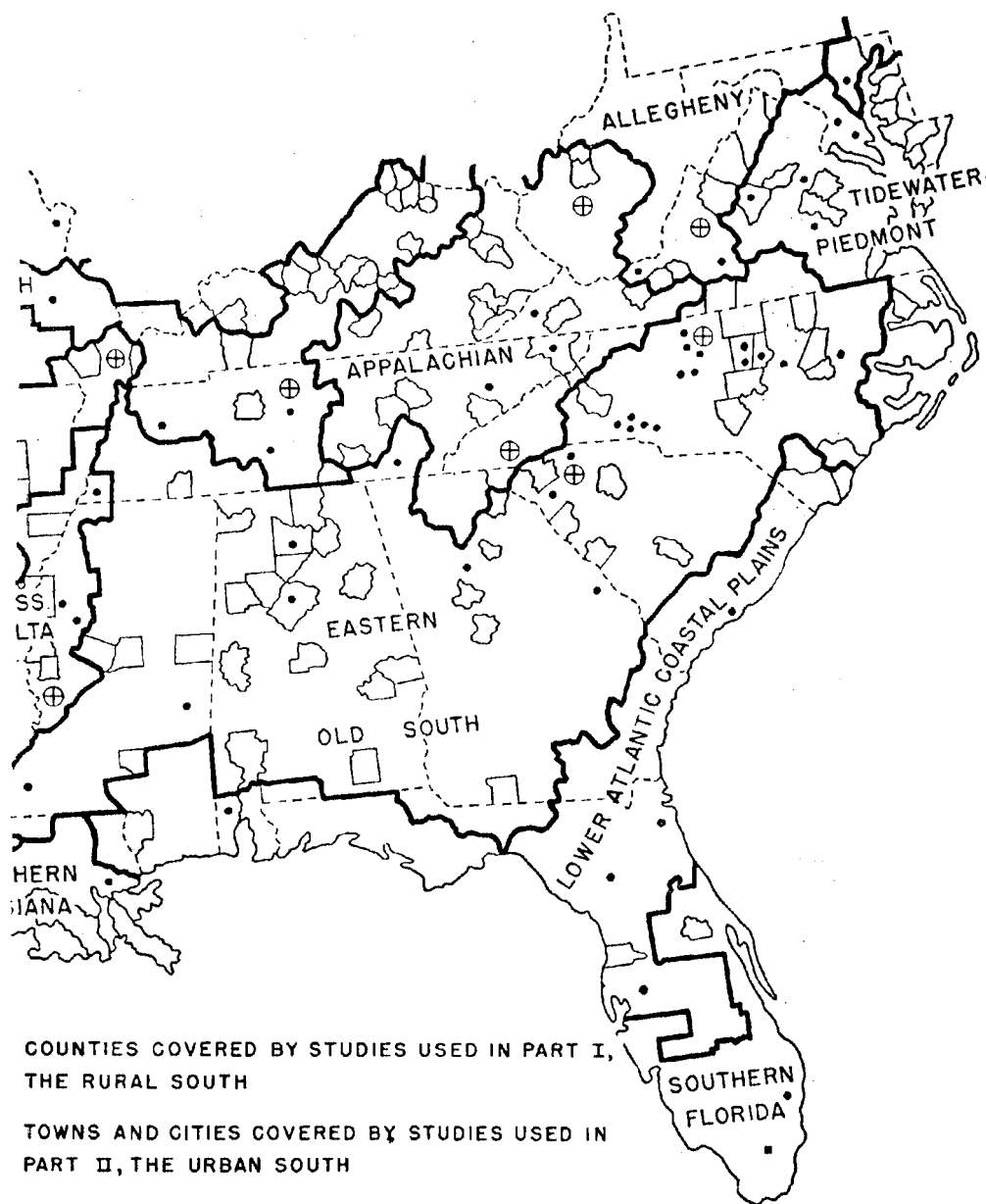
6. Newell L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1940), p. 99.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 27 ff.



NOTE: SUBREGIONS TAKEN FROM A.R.MANGUS, RURAL

FIGURE 1. MAP SHOWING RURAL CULTURAL SUBREGIONS OF THE SOUTH,
COMMUNITIES INCLUDED IN THE SPECIAL FIELD



COUNTIES COVERED BY STUDIES USED IN PART I,
THE RURAL SOUTH

TOWNS AND CITIES COVERED BY STUDIES USED IN
PART II, THE URBAN SOUTH

LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN FIELD STUDY IN PART III,
CHURCH-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES (WASHINGTON: U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1940)

COUNTIES AND URBAN PLACES COVERED BY STUDIES DIGESTED, AND
STUDY OF CHURCH-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Various methods of classification of types of rural communities would comprise a list that might run into scores. Suffice it to mention, then, the various types of communities as used by J. M. Gillette: peripatetic, topographic, crop response, ethnic rural, Negro, immigrant, open-country, farm-village, rural, single-center, cultural, and general.⁸ He then proceeds to indicate the direction of trends towards the various types:⁹

Surveys that have been made of rural communities indicate the distinctive trends which have been taking place in them. First, there is a tendency for open-country and village neighborhoods to move into what we have termed the rural type. . . . Second, there is also a movement toward a larger "interest community" and away from a mere locality neighborhood or a smaller area interest community.

Finally it is necessary to mention Sims' earlier work in classifying the types of communities: His sevenfold list includes the ethnic community, the immigrant community, the rural, the idealistic, the religious, the school, and the exceptional community.¹⁰ Finally he points up certain pertinent problems for which every community must find solutions—race, social, cooperative, and self-preservation problems¹¹—and concludes concerning the community: "To aid it, it has strong memories, a developed social pride, and a high degree of social compactness, along with those prime necessities, a sound economic policy and a developed and apparently permanent prosperity."¹² It seems that not too much emphasis can be placed on these community types and the problems confronting them.

GENERAL FACTS ABOUT SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITIES

It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the number of villages and other rural communities in the southern States because there are no available census data or any other information obtainable except a few guesses. Some information is available about the number of villages. It is known that there was a fifty percent growth in the number of incorporated villages in the South Atlantic States between 1910 and 1930, which made it the second highest region in the Nation in terms of such increase. In contrast to the growth in villages, the South showed the greatest losses in the number of rural neighborhoods between 1924 and 1930 due primarily to the construction of new and better roads during that period (A-5). Throughout the depression years open-country neighborhoods continued to decline as roads were improved, schools were consolidated, and population migrated. It is likely that this trend has continued for it has been estimated that from the middle of 1940 to early in 1942 there was a loss of about one-half million people in the rural farm population of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Much of this migration was from

8. Gillette, *op. cit.*, p. 102 ff.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 116 f.

10. N. L. Sims, *The Rural Community*, p. 153 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

communities with heavy Negro population and high farm tenancy rates. The heaviest migration came from rural problem areas (A-8). The 1945 Census of Agriculture reports 100,000 fewer farms in the South than in 1940. Incidentally, the census reports 300,000 fewer farms in the South operated by tenants and an increase of 170,000 farms operated by owners. Practically the entire loss of tenants was among the white tenant farmers as contrasted with the loss of Negro tenants during the previous decade.

Compared with communities of other regions, southern communities have a high percentage of the population living in the open country rather than in village centers, but this condition has been changing. As another author describes the situation, the "county community" is now emerging in place of the small locality community in the South. Such factors as automobiles, better roads, consolidated schools, more adequate public health, welfare services, and agricultural services are important factors creating the "county community."¹³

It is necessary usually to have in mind two separate communities when dealing with rural community life in the South, since the Negro has his own institutions and organizations. The Negro open-country neighborhoods have survived better than have the small white communities and rural neighborhoods.

The agricultural village generally serves as the trade service center for the rural community. Most people employed in these villages either work in some phase of agricultural employment or handle such simple manufacturing functions as the ginning of cotton, the operation of grist mills; merchandising, that is, operating general stores; or some phase of transportation. During the depression years there was an increase in the number of rural stores along with a sharp decrease in retail sales (A-2).

World War II improved conditions in most villages. It enabled Negroes to assume better jobs in both rural and urban areas and improved the social and economic position of both the Negro and the poor white. Farmers were more dependent on each other for the use of equipment and labor, and a great many cooperative practices developed. The end of the war has brought with it the realization that unless there is continued full employment in the United States the southern rural community will suffer, for many of those who have left their rural homes may return in great numbers and create a labor surplus if there is a recession. This is, of course, what happened during the depression of the 1930's. The continued mechanization of agriculture is another problem which may effect the southern rural community in the near future. The number of farms with tractors in the South almost doubled from 1940 to 1945, even with the scarcity of equipment created by the war.

From 1910 to 1930 the trend in the South and elsewhere was for the opening of more churches in villages with a decline in the number of open-country churches. During the depression years village churches did not fare well in the South. There were fewer village churches in 1936 than in 1930 (A-2). There was an increase in the number of country churches in the South, in con-

13. Frank D. Alexander, "Constructive Measures for Southern Rural Communities," *Social Forces*, 24 (December 1945), especially p. 182.

trast to the condition existing in the rest of the Nation. This change was apparently due to increased population movement to the open country during the depression years. During World War II rural church attendance decreased but the financial position of most churches improved (A-8).

The southern village has been following a national trend toward the consolidation of schools. It also had by far the smallest average per capita expenditure for schools of any region. The ratio of library borrowers to the total population was much the smallest of any region. During the depression there was a decrease in the number of children attending consolidated high schools and during World War II migration greatly affected rural education in some areas because teachers accepted better jobs and enrollment dropped on account of high wages and heavy demands for labor (A-8). Too often schools in the small southern communities were poorly equipped and understaffed.

In spite of the trend toward consolidation, in many instances schools were the most important factor holding an open-country neighborhood together when there were several district schools in an area instead of one consolidated school. For example, in Kentucky the schools were reported to be the most important integrating factor in the rural communities of that State, with the church coming next. Topography ranked third because of the difficult terrain in some parts of the State, and kinship ties were fourth in significance (A-16).

Southern villages had the fewest number of organizations per village of any region, but an increase in the growth of organizations characterized the region. The outstanding characteristic of southern rural organizations between 1930 and 1936 was their heavy turn-over (A-2). Today there appears to be little need for more organizations in each community; rather what is needed is to make the organizations more democratic and more concerned with local matters and to coordinate better all parts of the community's social structure. One of the weaknesses of organizations in the rural South is lack of leadership, and consequently the training of people for positions of leadership is one of the most important steps to make rural community life more desirable.

With this statement of certain general facts about southern rural communities, we turn to the rural cultural subregions of the South and analyze the social features of each subregion as revealed by Mangus and by the rural community surveys that have been made. Because the South is such a highly diverse area this subregional approach affords one of the most effective ways of analyzing the entire region particularly in connection with administrative and planning programs with emphasis on the community approach.

TIDEWATER PIEDMONT

The Tidewater Piedmont is a rural subregion which includes southern Maryland, the Virginia and Maryland Eastern Shore, eastern Virginia, and north-eastern North Carolina. It includes the Washington metropolitan area.

This is a fairly populous region with nearly half of its population classed as urban. The rural population is almost equally divided between rural farm and rural nonfarm residents. About a third of the rural population consists of

Negroes. The agriculture of this area is varied, with general truck and part-time farming in some localities and specialized farming in other parts. In some communities the size of farms has dwindled.

Compared with other subregions of the United States, the Tidewater Piedmont is a culturally disadvantaged section, for it ranked tenth from the bottom in a plane-of-living index among the 34 rural cultural subregions of the rural United States given in Mangus' classification. As in other southern areas, there has been much migration from the country to the city. Many of these communities have a high birth rate, particularly among farm tenants and the unskilled farm labor families. The infant mortality rate for this subregion is high. Churches of the subregion, as in many other areas of the rural South, seem to be characterized by small membership, with the density of churches being high. Studies have indicated that many of the best educated people and also people from the lowest economic classes are migrating from the communities of the Tidewater Piedmont (A-23). Studies elsewhere corroborate this tendency for some from the highest and lowest economic strata to migrate, leaving the medium stratum in the home community.

In spite of the lack of opportunity and the simplicity of life of some of these rural communities, many areas manage to remain stable in population quantity. Most of the small communities of the Eastern Shore are rather old and "sleepy towns—quaint, lazy, smugly satisfied. . . . There is satisfaction with the way of life." Problems are few because changes in the area are slow (A-19).

EASTERN OLD SOUTH

The Eastern Old South is a vast subregion stretching from southern Virginia through parts of the piedmont and central plains sections of the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and southwestern Tennessee to the Mississippi Delta, together with parts of north Florida. Cotton farms are the major agricultural type throughout most of the region, but the tobacco areas of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, the peanut area of Virginia and North Carolina, fruit areas of Georgia and South Carolina, and the truck area of Mississippi are also included.

The subregion has the largest population of any in the South. About a fourth of the people live in cities and towns, while approximately a fifth of the Nation's farmers inhabit this area. More than two-fifths of its 1935 population consisted of Negroes and the percentage probably has changed little since that time. Well over half of all Negro residents of rural farm areas in the United States are to be found in the Eastern Old South. This area has a high percentage of farms with small incomes, the ratio of children to women is high, farm families are large, farm tenancy is high, and its general plane of living is low.

In many areas of the Eastern Old South the rural neighborhood rather than the rural community is a real source of activity among social groups, for the rural community is composed of many open-country neighborhoods. In almost every rural community included in studies of the Eastern Old South, tenancy rates were 40 percent or higher with many instances of 80 percent and over. In

practically every community at some time in its history cotton had been the chief crop and throughout was the subsequent story of eroded land. The need for resource conservation and a higher standard of living was becoming more apparent.

For example, the Harmony community in Putnam County, Georgia, had a drop in population in the period 1920 to 1930 because of the boll weevil. Its hard wood lumber resources had been exhausted, although considerable loblolly and short leaf pine remained. Nearly eighty percent of the fertile cultivated land once existent in the country was now severely eroded and unproductive, while the remainder of the land was in only fair condition because of cotton production, bad land use, poor methods of plowing and cultivation, lack of cover crops, no crop rotation. Due to the boll weevil, only 6,000 acres of cotton were planted in 1924 and 5,348 acres in 1939 as compared with 42,000 acres in 1919. Dairying became the important activity for farm owners, but the tenant class still remained dependent on cotton for cash income. Dairying has increased the acreage in pasture land and feed crops, and is helping to rebuild the fertility of the soil. It is only because of this change in its economy that the Harmony community has been able to survive (A-40).

In a study of post-war employment opportunities in the Hollywood community of Saluda County, South Carolina, it was noted that under conditions existing in 1945, less than one-fourth of the farm residents of the county who had been in military service or war work could expect to find farms for rent or purchase if all returned to the community. Some who did so would only get farms by displacing owners or tenants now engaged in farming. Work would have to be obtained in nearby towns or places farther away even if the farm economy should become more diversified (A-26).

The consolidation of schools is one of the major forces breaking down rural neighborhoods and creating broader community spirit in many of the localities, although from the educational viewpoint solely, the conclusion that further consolidation is needed appears to be inescapable. As in other subregions of the South, many of the areas have a very high percentage of young people in the total population. The economic resources of the area are not sufficient to handle an adequate educational program, and the educational level of the adult population is frequently low.

In the Sneads community of Florida, the over-all educational level attained by the community was between the sixth and seventh grade (A-25). In a community in Alabama the average adult had not finished the sixth grade (A-37). In many of the communities children do not progress beyond elementary school. An illustration of the predicament of education in many areas in the Eastern Old South can be found in the picture presented by the Six Mile community in Pickens County, South Carolina. More than half of the population of this community were under 21 years of age and more than 28 percent of the youth of school age were not in school. Youth from farm tenant homes did not secure as much education as did youth from owner homes. With the present pattern of resource use, the area is too poor to support an adequate educational program.

Teachers are badly trained and get their jobs through politics. The school system has too many trustees with too much control. There are ten school districts with eleven elementary schools and one high school for a population of about 4,000 white people. Even if this area cannot improve its economic condition, it can help improve its educational institutions through consolidation of schools plus more adequate State and Federal aid, as well as educational leadership and planning (A-27). It has been suggested that abandoned school buildings resulting from consolidation be used as rural neighborhood centers.

The importance of the church has declined in all the communities studied in this subregion. Some areas have had considerable development of newer denominations like the Holiness Church. These sects apparently appeal more to the lower economic groups. In addition such denominations seem to have more frequent church services than older church groups. Although the church is still usually one of the strongest influences creating a consciousness of neighborhood, it is losing out because of a declining rural population, the availability of transportation facilities which permits attendance at the village or city church, and the competition of other institutions and agencies. In many of the communities the churches are handicapped by petty jealousy and rivalry between denominations and an excessive number of churches. The best leadership in many communities is confined only to secular affairs. Women are more active in church affairs than men, and owner families more than tenant families (A-37).

The population structure of many of the rural communities is changing because of migration and lower birth rate. One community has had difficulty maintaining its elementary school because of migration and a decreasing birth rate, since 40 percent of the white population was under 15 years of age in 1930 and only 20 percent was under 15 in 1940 (A-40). The upswing in birth rate during and since the war probably has changed this situation somewhat. Most communities need more adequate health and medical facilities than are generally available. Life in the community is usually focused in the family. As a rule, people marry at an early age, and marriages are stable.

LOWER ATLANTIC COASTAL PLAINS

The coastal strip extending from Wilmington, North Carolina, southward through central Florida and westward around the Gulf almost to New Orleans constitutes the Lower Atlantic Coastal Plains subregion. Farming in this area is generally of a mixed type. Truck, potatoes, cotton, dairy products, livestock, poultry, and forest products are of importance in various sections. There is considerable self-sufficing and part-time farming. Much of the land is poorly drained. The population of this area is about a third urban.

The Lower Atlantic Coastal Plains is an impoverished subregion agriculturally, and its plane of living is almost as low as that of the Eastern Old South. Approximately one-third of the rural population consists of Negroes. Birth rates are high; incomes are low. This region differs from the Eastern Old South in that it has a different type of farming and relatively low farm tenancy rates, only 31 percent of all farmers being tenants in 1935. Also a comparatively small

proportion of its rural families reside on farms, and there is a fairly high proportion of part-time farms.

SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The southern Florida subregion is primarily an agricultural and recreational area that covers the east central and southern part of Florida. Included are the Everglades; also one of the chief sugar cane producing areas of the country. Trade from tourists and sportsmen constitutes an important element in the rural economy.

Negroes constitute about a third of the population. From 1920 to 1930 there was an increase in population of 165 percent in the lower portion of this subregion and this trend has continued. The upper part of the area has citrus fruit and vegetable farming, characterized by a low tenancy rate and a high evaluation of farm land and buildings.

The level of living of an average farmer of this subregion is about the average for the Nation, while the rural nonfarm level of living is somewhat below average. The birth rates are relatively low and infant mortality rates relatively high. No rural community studies have been located for this area except for an analysis of a Slovak community that was founded in one of the south Florida counties. This community could not be considered typical of the subregion (A-43).

NORTH-SOUTH BORDER

This elongated area along the northern border of the South includes parts of Kentucky, central Tennessee, southern Missouri, and the extreme northwestern part of Arkansas. This border region is primarily agricultural. About a third of the open country, village, and small town workers of the subregion are employed in agriculture. Mining, building, and lumber plants also claimed considerable numbers of workers. General farming is found throughout this area, but livestock, self-sufficing and part-time farms are numerous. Tobacco farms are also found in several localities in the eastern section. The living plane of this area is low. Because of lack of sufficient community studies, no adequate picture of its rural communities can be given. However, it appears for the most part that these communities have a higher economic level than do most of the communities in the Eastern Old South and the Tidewater Piedmont.

A study of three rural communities in Kentucky showed that over ninety percent of the attendance at community organizational affairs was at religious meetings (A-44). The same situation existed in the rural communities of Washington County, Arkansas, where some member or members of 91 percent of all families studied habitually attended some sort of religious meeting (A-46).

ALLEGHENY

This area includes northern and eastern West Virginia, western Maryland, and north central Virginia. Part of the Allegheny Mountains lies within this subregion. The type of agriculture is varied with general farming predominating over large areas. Dairy, fruit, livestock, part-time, and self-sufficing farms are

numerous. Mining is the principal rural nonfarm industry. The population is on the increase. The great weaknesses in the economic phase of community life are the small size of farm, the high percentage of families with low incomes, and the limited opportunities for employment. The topography of many of the communities is characterized by mountain ranges, valleys, and rolling hills. Birth rates are high and there is much migration from the area to other parts of the country as well as within the subregion.

APPALACHIAN

The Appalachian subregion includes the area extending from western Virginia and southern West Virginia southwestward through eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Georgia. The Blue Ridge and Cumberland mountains fall within this area. In this extremely rural but populous region about one-third of the gainfully employed workers are in agriculture, while almost two-fifths are in manufacturing, merchandising, and other nonfarm industries. Coal mining is by far the most important of the nonfarm industries.

The Appalachian subregion is one of the chief problem areas of the United States with its low plane of living and its high rate of natural increase in population. The rate of natural increase in the rural population is higher than in any other part of the Nation. Population increases in the Appalachian area from 1900 to 1930 were chiefly in counties where coal mining and manufacturing have been expanding, while population decreases occurred for the most part in counties where such industrial development was not taking place. The total number of persons in all incorporated places with less than 2,500 population in 1900 increased about 122 percent between 1900 and 1930. This is an average per decade increase of around 40 percent or far greater than the general population gain in the country as a whole (A-55).

Towns with populations over 2,500 are growing even more rapidly and the trend is toward urbanization. The location and size of the largest cities indicate that the towns which have depended primarily on serving local farmers are not likely to become cities unless other industries develop nearby. A study of the effects of industrial development on rural life in Sullivan County, Tennessee, is based on two localities nearly equal in soil fertility and topography, one having remained agricultural and the other having developed commercially. It is shown that a manufacturing area leads to increase in population and with this population increase may come other improvements in roads, schools, churches, and recreational facilities. Surplus farm labor is able to get jobs in the industrially developed community, but in the strictly rural area unemployed farm laborers have to go elsewhere for work. The farm tenancy rate has decreased in both areas, but in the industrially developed areas it has been due to an increase in farm population and farm ownership, while in the strictly rural areas it is due to tenants moving out (A-51).

The Valley community located in the mountains of northeastern Georgia is an example of the dilemma of many of the rural Appalachian communities. Some of the soil in this community is good but there are too many people on the

farms to maintain an adequate standard of living since the nature of the terrain limits the available acreage. The pleasant summer climate has resulted in the opening of several tourist homes and summer cottages. Sawmills provide the only real industry. Farming is of the self-sufficient type and on a small scale, with two-thirds of the farmers owning their farms. The basic problem of the community is that there are too many farms on too little land. This might be listed as the basic problem of all the Appalachian country (A-50).

Commercialized agriculture in the Southern Appalachians has been centered mostly on cotton (on the fringes of the subregion), tobacco, and fruits. The terrain of the subregion has hindered the development of transportation of all kinds and has been one of the chief causes for its backward economic development and isolation. The purchasing power of the people is relatively low. Co-operative marketing among farmers is of minor importance (A-55).

A study of three Appalachian communities located in the mountains of eastern Tennessee showed that patterns of culture and folk experience in agriculture, such as crop rotation or tenure, have a direct relation to the ability of the natural resources of an area to support population; also that community facilities and social organizations affect the level of living and the number of people that a given area can support. One locality has a Swiss colony which has the highest standard of living of the three communities. Their culture emphasizes thrift and the best techniques of farming, traits lacking in the other two communities. However, work by the Tennessee Valley Authority and the various agricultural services is raising the standards of living and the educational level of the other communities. Previously the lack of these services had been a potent force in preventing these counties from improving (A-59).

Gatlinburg, Tennessee, is an excellent illustration of an isolated mountain community that has developed into a well known resort. Because of its location as a gateway to a national park, today the occupations of the people of the community are centered around the making of handicrafts such as weaving, basket making, wood carving, as well as caring for tourists. This new economic setup is in vivid contrast to the mountaineers of still isolated communities in the Appalachians where farming, lumbering, moonshining, mining, and road building are usually the only occupations (A-56).

The Appalachian area has a comparatively large number of churches in relation to the population. This condition is caused by such factors as poor transportation and the large variety of religious denominations. Seventy percent of the approximately 1,000 churches included in one survey of selected communities in this area are one-room buildings. Three-fourths of the churches surveyed have ministers living elsewhere who preach on an itinerant schedule. One church out of every four has fewer than 25 resident members. A few churches in villages have services every Sunday. Between 1906 and 1926 the rate of increase of church membership in the region was almost twice that of the rate of population increase. It is reported as doubtful whether these gains can be maintained since the churches are doing very little to adjust themselves to rapidly changing conditions (A-55).

Many children are retarded in going through a normal school program. Late entrance into school, irregular attendance, long distances to school, low quality of education, short school terms, poor buildings, and inadequate equipment are characteristic of the educational system for many of the communities in this subregion (A-55).

The rural communities in many sections of the Appalachians are very simple. Low incomes, few automobiles, and difficult terrain tend to force group life to function on a neighborhood basis. Medical services are often inadequate, and isolation and the rough country make it difficult to get medical aid in an emergency. Most hospitals are in or near the large cities and towns, and some localities are 50 miles from a general hospital (A-55).

MISSISSIPPI DELTA

The Mississippi Delta subregion includes counties in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana located in the bottom lands of the Mississippi River, and in addition Shelby County in the southwestern tip of Tennessee. It is a great cotton-producing area in which nearly all the farm income is from this one cash crop.

While highly rural, this area is the most thickly settled of any rural-farm region in the United States. With about a third of its population urban, over half of the town and city dwellers live in the large center of Memphis. Of the rural population four-fifths live on farms. The amount of farm land for each rural-farm resident is unusually small.

Although a part of the Old South, this subregion is culturally unique among the rural subregions of the United States. The Negro ratio in the farm population is high, more than one-half, and the farm tenancy rate is also unusually high. The plantation system reigns supreme. The Delta is a highly productive and highly specialized cotton-producing region. Its land is more fertile than that in other parts of the Old South. Though more thickly settled, the land value per capita of the rural-farm population is considerably higher than in neighboring areas. Because of their small size, however, the majority of all farms in this subregion generally produced less than \$1,000 gross income before the recent war.

The rural-farm plane of living is lower than in any other major subregion. Only the favored few landlords have houses whose value approaches the United States average, and the possession of such conveniences as telephones, running water, electric lights, automobiles, and radios is very limited in rural areas. Although an extremely low plane of living is usually accompanied by very large families, such is not the case in this subregion. The size of the average rural-farm family is smaller than in any other major region except the Far West, and the region ranks only tenth from the bottom among the subregions in the number of children per 1,000 women of childbearing age. High infant death rates and heavy emigration of persons in the productive age groups partly account for this ratio of children to women. The effect of migration growing out of the depression is seen in the fact that the farm population of the Delta decreased

5 percent between 1930 and 1935. There was considerably more exodus during the recent war.

In many parts of the Mississippi Delta the small trade center type of village is almost absent since the old-time plantation setup tended to confine purchases by tenant families to the plantation commissary. The next trading center off the plantation was usually the county seat or some other small city instead of small scattered trade centers. With the partial breakdown of the commissary system, some families go 30 miles for their trading, the location being determined by where they can obtain credit in buying their supplies (A-62). Mechanization and specialization in agriculture will be creating new problems for the communities of the Mississippi Delta in the years just ahead (A-63).

WESTERN OLD SOUTH

The Western Old South subregion is a cotton-producing area lying within the Mississippi alluvial plain extending southwestward from the southeastern "boot heel" of Missouri along the border of the Delta region in Arkansas and Louisiana, and into the Gulf Plain in eastern Texas. Its eastern boundary is the Mississippi Delta subregion; its western boundary is the Ozark-Ouachita subregion and the Black Prairie in Texas; and its southern boundary is the southern Louisiana sugar and rice areas and the Gulf coast.

This is a fairly populous and thickly settled area with more than two million persons residing on farms and an almost equal number in urban areas or in rural-nonfarm residence. About one-third of the urban population resides in two major centers, Little Rock and Houston. Less than a third of the rural population of the Western Old South subregion consists of Negroes. Culturally, this area follows the same pattern as the Eastern Old South and if the two subregions were not intercepted by the very divergent Mississippi Delta they might well be combined into one subregion.

Illustrations in the community life of the Western Old South can be exemplified by the rural communities of Hempstead, Texas, the Red River Parish in Louisiana, and certain communities of south-central Arkansas. The southeastern part of Texas, where the Hempstead community is located, is very favorable for agriculture. The climate is mild and the soil is fertile. Cotton, corn, fruits, poultry, and cattle raising constitute the principal sources of cash income on farms. Large cotton plantations and ranches that are dependent on the trade center of Hempstead have been developed. The influence of the neighborhood and the church has declined, since many of the farmers have gone to the churches in the village (A-64).

Farming, oil, and lumber provide the principal income in 1935 for the communities of the Red River Parish in Louisiana. The Red River divides the parish into two greatly differing areas. The land to the east of the river is gently rolling with small farms raising cotton and corn, with some subsistence farming. Most of the population in this section of the Parish is white. Many rural neighborhoods have been formed around churches, schools, and stores. Highways in this area are promoting neighborhood disintegration. The section

west of the Red River is bottom land, with cotton plantations of 8,000 to 12,000 acres predominating. Operations are highly mechanized. Negroes compose the great majority of the population and do all the hard labor. Rural neighborhood standards are different from the rest of the Parish with each plantation neighborhood consisting of three to six white families and 150 to 250 Negro families. The small number of white families prevents their developing any real neighborhood associations (A-66).

The land in south-central Arkansas is undulating and swampy. Of the many forest types, soft yellow pine predominates. The main industry is farming, with some lumbering. The average size of farm is 70 acres, with cotton and corn as the chief crops. The farm population of the area appears to be economically below the average for the State but the proportion of farm ownership is greater, which is often the case in other southern areas as well. Although a great majority of the families attend churches in the open country and small villages, these churches, on the whole, have lower average attendance and smaller membership than the churches in the larger villages and towns. Contrary to the usual pattern, tenants participate in religious events more than farm owners or farm laborers, while farm owners participate more in social and recreational activities (A-65).

CENTRAL OKLAHOMA-KANSAS

The Central Oklahoma-Kansas subregion coincides with the oil producing and oil processing sections of each State. It also includes some agricultural areas of a varied type of farming with cotton, livestock, and general farming predominating. Coal mining communities are to be found in parts of Oklahoma.

Lincoln County, Oklahoma, shows the plight of some areas in this subregion. The county has 959 square miles of land, much of which is eroded. An oil boom accentuated the decline of the county when the economic bust came in the 1930's. Tenancy and mobility rates are high, roads generally bad, and tax rates burdensome (A-67).

SOUTHERN LOUISIANA

The extreme southern portion of Louisiana constitutes the Southern Louisiana subregion. The major agricultural products are sugar cane, rice, fruits, and cotton.

This is a small but thickly settled area. The population is divided nearly equally between rural and urban. Three-fourths of the urban population reside in the city of New Orleans. The rural-farm residents slightly out-number those classified as rural-nonfarm.

This is a culturally distinct area. Large proportions of the population are persons of French descent and many elements of the original French culture have been perpetuated. A major distinguishing factor is an exceedingly low educational status. Outside of New Orleans 20 percent of the farm population 10 years of age and over was classed as illiterate in 1930 as compared with the national average of 6.9 percent. During that year only 40 percent of the rural-

farm youth 16 and 17 years of age were attending school as compared with the national average of 82 percent. However, much progress in education has been made by this and all other southern subregions during the last decade and a half. This area resembles the Old South in its low plane of living, large families, large proportion of farms producing very low income, and high proportion of tenancy.

This subregion is one of the most interesting in the South. In many of the communities sugar cane dominates the economic life of the people. Rural non-farm workers are often employed in the sugar mills. The Catholic church is frequently the nucleus of the community. Homogeneity of nationality descent, language, and religion creates a high degree of social solidarity in many of the villages of southern Louisiana (A-69).

Another interesting group of people of French descent living in this area are the marshdwellers in the southeastern part of the State. Usually they live along the narrow strip of land that is the natural levee of the bayous which are so prevalent. The young people marry early since economic opportunities permit able bodied youth of 16 to 18 years of age to earn as much as older men in trapping and fishing. The family is dependent upon stores or peddlers for food since kitchen gardens cannot be cultivated because of the wet land and unfavorable climate for vegetable growing (A-68).

CENTRAL TEXAS-OKLAHOMA

The Texas-Oklahoma subregion extends from the Western Old South on the east to the New Mexico State line on the west and to the boundary of the Southern Great Plains subregion on the north. It is an important cotton-producing area but range-livestock farms are dominant in the central portion.

While this subregion produces considerable cotton and has a high rate of farm tenancy, it has little else in common with the Old South. Its average plane-of-living index is nearly three times as high as that for the adjoining Western Old South subregion. Land value per capita is more than four times as great, the proportion of farms producing less than \$1,000 gross income being only about one-half that in the adjoining cotton area. Relatively few Negroes reside on farms. The number of children per 1,000 women is about equal, however, to the ratio for the Western Old South.

An example of rural communities in this area is the Roby Community in Fisher County, Texas. Cotton, livestock, and small grain constitute the pattern of farming. The Community itself includes an area of about 120 square miles and is made up of a village center and nine open-country neighborhoods. In 1944, there were 7 churches in the community. Migration has reduced church membership somewhat, particularly in the open country. Over eighty percent of the church members in the community belong to the three village churches. However, the country churches, although weak, are still the strongest institution holding rural neighborhoods together since the schools were consolidated. Community leadership has been conservative and dependent on the "old" families,

but the war gave opportunity for more progressive and aggressive leadership to assert itself (A-70).

SOUTHERN GREAT PLAINS

This subregion is included in our study only because the northwestern section of the Texas Panhandle and a small portion of western Oklahoma lie within its boundaries. The Southern Great Plains area is predominantly agricultural, except for the north Texas oil fields in the vicinity of Amarillo. Garfield County, Oklahoma, illustrates the economy of this area where 92 percent of the land is in farms with wheat and livestock predominating. The discovery of oil in 1917 led to the development of the oil industry and the growth of population in the vicinity (A-71).

OZARK-OUACHITA

The Ozark-Ouachita subregion lies within the highland section of southern Missouri, northwestern Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma. It is a poor land area of self-sufficing agriculture with some cotton and general farming. Much of the land now being farmed should be removed from cultivation.

This relatively small farm subregion is without any large urban center, and more than half of its population resides on farms. Only one-eighth of the population lives in small cities and towns and only about one-fourth occupies rural-nonfarm residences. Culturally this subregion follows the same pattern of extremes as that described for the Appalachian area. The two regions belong together in nearly all respects except for their separate geographic locations.

The Ozark mountains section of Missouri is one of the rural problem areas of the State. Standards of education are as low as in any section of the State. Practically all of the rural population is native born, with high birth rates and large families being further distinguishing characteristics of the Ozarks. There is a low degree of participation in organized groups and activities. Only 20 percent of the population of the Ozarks area in Missouri in 1930 were church members (A-9).

RIO GRANDE-GULF

The extreme southwestern portion of the Gulf Plain in Texas has been designated the Rio Grande-Gulf subregion. It includes 47 Texas counties lying between the Rio Grande River on the west and the Gulf of Mexico on the east. It reaches its northernmost point at the city of Austin and lies mostly west of the Colorado River and south of a line extending westward from San Antonio to the Rio Grande.

The type of farming is varied. The subregion contains the Texas winter truck garden and fruit areas. Cotton culture is found on the Rio Grande plains and the coastal prairie, and cotton, truck, and citrus fruit are grown in the lower Rio Grande Valley. Range livestock is also characteristic of the subregion.

Of the urban population more than one-half lives in the two principal cities, San Antonio and Austin. The most striking demographic fact about this region is that a sizeable proportion of its farm population consists of "other races,"

mostly Mexicans, and an additional 15 percent is composed of foreign-born whites or native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. The plane-of-living index is considerably below average. The region ranks among the highest in percentage of farm tenancy and in ratio of children to women.

CONCLUSIONS

Any group planning a program for the entire rural South must keep in mind that social and economic conditions are not static and that changes are constantly going on either rapidly or slowly in large areas and small ones. This comes about as a result either of vast and impersonal forces or of individual and community efforts. World War II and the depression are examples of the complex impersonal forces in operation, while the work of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in setting up a rural rehabilitation project in Mississippi for dispossessed sharecroppers is an illustration of what might be considered local groups working for improvement in community affairs.

Any long range program for improvement of institutional or general community welfare must keep in mind that the South is a complicated heterogeneous region and that only general goals can be set and general rules of procedure laid out. With more than a dozen major subregions making up the South, variations in natural resources, in the people, and in socio-economic factors have been evident in the studies reviewed.

Furthermore, this material illustrates that institutions are dependent on each other and that programs for community betterment ultimately involve the entire community. The story of the rural church in the South to date has been that of an institution which has failed to function as it should. Therein lies one of the causes of its decline. Conversely, if the church becomes a more active community force in matters other than merely preaching, it will become a far more vitalized and useful organ of country life. Accordingly, the next chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the problems of the rural church in the South.

Chapter 3

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOUTHERN RURAL CHURCH

THIS chapter will deal with the rural church situation as revealed by the numerous rural community studies which have been made in the South and as conditioned by the social and economic characteristics of the region. We shall also present the point of view of rural sociologists toward the rural church. These points of view, as would be expected, may differ in some respects from those of professional church leaders.

THE CHURCH IN SELECTED RURAL SITUATIONS

In order to get a picture of the rural church situation in the South, let us look at a few communities. The following material is taken from digests of rural social surveys used in the preceding chapter and included in Appendix A.¹

The trend in the South as elsewhere during the 1920's was for the opening of more churches in villages with a decline in the number of open-country churches. The average membership of both village and country churches increased, resulting in part from elimination of some of the smaller churches (A-5). This trend was reversed during the depression years (A-2).

The South had the highest percentage of inactive members of village and country Protestant churches. Four-fifths of all the rural churches in the United States with buildings worth less than \$1,500 were in the South in 1930 (A-5).

The church is the principal social organization in the rural southern community. "Churches are numerous in most rural areas of the region; in fact, they are usually too numerous. Although competition and conflict among the rural churches have declined considerably in recent years, the large number of churches and the lack of resident ministers prevent their providing effective moral leadership in many communities. Indeed, the inefficient and unorganized programs of the church are often a source of low community morale" (A-1). The rural church should emphasize a better social and economic life for the community through better farming, soil conservation, and improved recreational facilities. Ministers should be better prepared including a knowledge of agricultural techniques, and their salaries should be supported by the parent church when necessary. This will enable the church to get a good man as minister (A-1).

Coffee County, Alabama, has 118 churches, 86 for whites and 32 for Negroes. Thirteen are in urban areas and the remainder in the open country or small communities. Recently there has been a considerable development of newer denominations like the Holiness and Pentecostal. Only a small proportion

1. In summarizing the more significant facts in these studies, the present tense is used although the studies may have been made some years ago. It is recognized that conditions may have changed since the time of the studies.

of the total population goes to church. The average congregation has about sixty persons at each service with some having as few as twenty. It appears that about one-fifth of the rural white population goes to church regularly. Church attendance has declined. It is claimed that, in addition to the effect of a declining population and the attraction of the urban church, the rural churches of Coffee County are declining. Because of the increase of farm tenancy the churches reporting the greatest losses in attendance are located in areas having a high rate of tenancy. Important factors affecting the decline of the country church are a falling or stationary population and competing institutions (A-35).

The churches of Covington County, Mississippi, function chiefly on a neighborhood basis. There is a church to every seven square miles and one for every 182 persons over ten years of age. A total of 58 of the 76 churches in the county are in the open country. Church buildings are in bad repair. There is only one resident minister in the whole county. "Residents may look to the community center for medical services, banking, trading, schooling, and recreation, but in religious affiliations their interests remain in the neighborhoods" (A-29).

Among white residents the Harmony Baptist Church (Georgia) is by far the most important institution in the county next to the family and most people are members of it. Services are held one Sunday each month and revival services once a year. The pastor is non-resident and untrained. The church has three organizations—a Sunday School, a Young People's Union, and a Woman's Missionary Union. Most members agree that the influence of the church has declined. The Jefferson Baptist Church is in the forefront among the institutions for Negroes in the community. Preaching services are held once a month. Prayer meetings are held every Saturday, and Sunday School is scheduled once a week. Members are required to attend services regularly but their interests have waned (A-40).

The first institution which the early settlers of Upland Bend, Alabama, felt they needed when their homes had been raised was the church. In 1940 there were six white churches and one Negro church. Three-fourths of the family heads are members of local churches. Control of the church is by the farm owning class. The average salary of the minister is \$135 a year. Services are held either one or two Sundays a month. The ministers of the community agree that the churches in Upland Bend are handicapped by petty jealousy and rivalry among denominations, too many churches, and lack of trained leadership. They believe that church consolidation is advisable but unlikely because of denominational prejudice (A-37).

The four churches are the only voluntary organized social institutions in McNairy County, Tennessee. "Wives more frequently than husbands and husbands and wives in owner homes more frequently than wives and husbands in tenant homes are members of churches." Church services are held about twice a month. Quarrels between church groups and between school groups tend to divide the community (A-24).

The influence of the neighborhood church in Hempstead, Texas, has declined in some areas since many of the farmers are going to the village church. The

church and the school were the most important social institutions affecting the Negro, but several neighborhoods have an agricultural community club, home demonstration club, and 4-H Club which have developed into social organizations that take in more than agriculture (A-64).

Over ninety percent of the farm families surveyed in South Central Arkansas have some member or members of the family attending religious meetings of some kind during a twelve months period. Over ninety percent of the religious interests of the people are centered in churches in the open country and small villages. No other activity is quite so confined to the rural hinterland as is religion (A-65).

Religion is important on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, and the principal ceremonies have some religious aspects. There are six Baptist churches on the Island or one for every 600 people. One church has over 1,000 members. Crime rates are low, with the church exercising a sort of extra-legal system of justice in the area (A-42).

Some member or members of 91 percent of all families surveyed in Washington County, Arkansas, attend some sort of religious meeting. Fully 61 percent attend open-country churches; 24 percent attend hamlet churches, 12.3 percent village churches, and 2.3 percent small city churches. Automobile ownership increases the rate of church attendance. All items investigated indicate that the churches in the two villages and the small city enjoy a larger membership, better material equipment, and superior ministerial service than those in hamlets and the open country (A-46).

Eleven white churches of the Rimer community in Virginia have an average membership of 42 people. The church is the organization in which there was the greatest amount of community participation (A-17).

In Beaverdam community, Virginia, the church is the most characteristic neighborhood institution, next to the general store. Churches are found in six neighborhoods. Approximately four out of every five white families in the community have one or more members attending church. Most of those families not participating in church attendance are from the lowest income classes. Church participation in the area has a tendency to be grouped by social caste and class (A-18).

Few of the church patrons interviewed in Crozet, Virginia, are satisfied with the religious service provided by their church expenditures. Some want more church activities for young people, others want more coordinated policy among the churches of the village. There are six churches in the community and, although there is some cooperation between churches, their relationships are not entirely amicable. Churches are still the principal institutional interest of the people (A-22).

Of the 61 churches and related organizations studied in Cumberland County, Tennessee, over a third are Baptist. Church worship is participated in weekly by 12 percent of the congregations, every two weeks by 40 percent, monthly by 24 percent, and intermittently by the remainder. All churches, with the excep-

tion of 5 percent, have a Sunday School; only 5 percent of the churches consider social activities a major function of the church (A-53).

In the rural areas of Kentucky, all preachers are poorly prepared to do effective work. The funeral meeting, in which itinerant preachers hold service for all who have died since the last meeting, is the social event of the year. The meetings are held in the spring and fall of the year (A-61).

The Southern Appalachian subregion has a large number of churches considering its total population. Poor transportation in some areas, racial differences, and the large variety of religious denominations contribute to this condition. Seventy percent of the approximately 1,000 churches in the counties surveyed have one-room buildings. This is particularly true of churches in hamlets and in the open country, but even villages have a high percentage of one-room churches. Three-fourths of the churches surveyed have ministers living elsewhere who come periodically to preach, and only one church out of every four has a full time resident minister. The per capita contribution for the support of the churches is very small. Few churches have services every Sunday and such churches are located in the villages. Next to preaching, the most important activity of the Appalachian church consists of holding Sunday school. Other types of church activities, such as women's societies, young people's societies, and brotherhoods are below the average for the Nation. This is due to the retarded development of the more mountainous parts of the region and to a public sentiment influenced by anti-missionary views. Between 1906 and 1926 church membership in the region increased almost twice as fast as the population, but whether these gains can be maintained is uncertain since the churches are doing very little to adjust themselves to rapidly changing conditions (A-55).

In 1944 in Roby, Texas, there were seven churches in the community. Migration lessened membership somewhat, particularly in the country. Over eighty percent of the church members of the community belong to the three village churches. However, the country churches, although weak, are still the strongest focal point for holding neighborhoods together since the country schools were closed because of consolidation (A-70).

In Blacksburg, Virginia, the churches are the most important organizations in the community. There are 26 churches or one for every 317 people. Fifteen of these churches have less than 40 members, while over 50 percent of the people of the community ten years of age and over are church members in name but not in attendance. The community has too many churches and too many organizations to function effectively (A-48).

Fort Lewis, Virginia, has five churches including one Negro church. The religious aspects of the community are fairly typical of the rural South for it is "overchurched." Membership is small and only one church has a full-time minister. Religion seems to be more of a divisive than an organizing influence in the community since each of the churches draws many of its members from the vicinity of every other church, creating competition, rivalry, and conflict (A-49).

The Catholic Church in south Louisiana is the nucleus of the entire community. Almost everyone goes to Catholic church services. The church provides weekly religious instruction to children between six and twelve years of age. There is an annual church fair for the benefit of the church which nets \$600 to \$1,000 (A-69).

In four parishes in South Louisiana 90 percent of the marshdwellers are Catholic, at least nominally. Every locality has church services at least once a week, but attendance varies from place to place. A common characteristic is that the men tend to consider religion something for women and children (A-68).

The foregoing are summaries of such references to the church as are found in the rural community surveys digested in connection with this study. The rural church is characterized by certain features whether it is found in the South, North, East or West. Perhaps the most generally uniform institution in America is the country church. In general, the situations found in one region can be duplicated in other areas. Types of religious situations in the country as brought out at the meeting of the American Country Life Association at Columbus, Ohio, in 1924, are pertinent to the South today as well as to any other region. Every person who has been observant will recognize the contemporary nature of the following community situations as reported by various people attending the American Country Life Association meeting.²

A. A good community in which things as a whole are going well. Honest, trustworthy people. Four churches, two or more declining, but one fairly good. Not enough money or sense of stewardship to support them all. Churches seem to have fallen behind the pace of the cooperative community spirit represented in Grange, consolidated schools, etc. The young people seek their social life outside of the church. Business activities, hauling milk, etc., interfere with the church schedule of meetings.

B. An excellent community in which some people are getting their spiritual values, enthusiasm and social vision in organizations outside of the church. Organized religion is conservative and unable to measure up to the spiritual quality of the community. The church does not appreciate nor utilize the extra-ecclesiastical spiritual reality and dynamic.

C. A community in which the church fails to evaluate, set, and interpret economic goals. Cooperative marketing association sets profit as its sole aim, and ignores social and ethical values. The church does not enter in.

* * * *

D. Denominational churches in the community are preserved because of local denominational loyalties and prejudices, or by means of overhead pressure and subsidies. Decisions as to policy are voted in far away conferences and conventions. Preachers who want to stay are led by overhead forces to move elsewhere. The situation is controlled by officialdom through missionary money. The local minister is backed by the overhead because he makes the denomination dominant. The community is exploited for the sake of the denomination.

2. *Religion in Country Life*. Proceedings of the Seventh National Country Life Conference of the American Country Life Association, 1924 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 20-22.

E. Local denominational loyalties develop dissension and hatred in the community. There is lack of community pride on the part of the churches and an unwillingness to see things from other than a denominational point of view. There is no program based upon community needs. The young people get the denominational divisions and jealousies rather than real Christianity or even ethical ideas. In some such situations a minister sometimes is trying to heal these divisions but is not backed by his church. He endeavors to promote community activity, but outside forces interfere.

F. Denominational or other churches in the community give an exclusively devotional emphasis. What they promote is unrelated to social and economic needs. The individual members may or may not be participating in parallel community enterprises. The church preaching and worship are not related to these activities. The church contributes little or nothing, directly, to law enforcement, economic progress, or scientific agriculture.

The minister here is not trained for the country. He appears to have no knowledge of economic processes and organizations.

Sometimes in extreme form this split between religion and the rest of life takes the form of "out-law" sects, Holy Jumpers, etc. Religion for them is in the realm of magic rather than social welfare.

G. The community is progressive. Many agencies are at work and the community is interested in them and willing to support them so far as possible. These agencies, however, see things each from its own viewpoint. They step on each other's toes. Churches, schools, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Scouts, Clubs, social agencies, and economic organizations all compete for time and money. How many ought a community to support? Can they work together without duplication or interference? These are the questions faced.

H. A community church or other strong church takes hold of community enterprises and tries to monopolize them. While the church may be strong, it makes a slight impression on existing community needs. The minister tries to act as chairman of all social work committees. What the church cannot control, it, like a dog in the manger, tries to keep out. Religious life is interpreted in terms of church activities.

* * * *

I. The church is inefficient.

(1) Perhaps a "scrub preacher." Less than half the rural ministers have high school education or equivalent. "I like to go to church but I can't stand the preaching." Ministers may lack ability, or may be merely untrained.

(2) Efforts at evangelism through traditional channels are unsuccessful.

(3) Religious education is grossly inadequate. Teachers are unacquainted with modern psychology, knowledge of groupings, etc., and lack of the technique for getting religion to become effective in conduct.

(4) Equipment is inadequate.

(5) Church organization is unsatisfactory. The church is "run" by the minister who tries to do it all by himself, or by a small group of elderly people who monopolize affairs.

J. "The church is so much better than most of these described that I suppose I ought to go home thankful." Good live community. One strong church with

denominational connections. Community a unit in many activities. What shall be done? "We are ready to go ahead; where do we go?"

* * * *

K. Community practically unchurched. Some have three little churches with services every few weeks.

Village churches do not cover country. Rural group not interested in village churches.

Community may be sparsely settled. May be declining in virility of stock.

Community may be completely untouched, as in lumber regions, pioneer territory, coal fields, etc.

L. Community composed mostly of tenant farmers. Church has no policy regarding tenant-landlord relations, and no interest in improving the situation of the tenants.

M. Migratory situation. Immigrant farmers. Foreign groups neglected. The diverse cultural and religious backgrounds cannot be met by the same kind of worship or activities.

There ran through all these community situations two problems that seemed to recur continually. (1) In rural areas frequently the city seems to be the mecca and there is a consequent lack of understanding on the part of the rural people of country life and its real significance. This applies to the young people who want to go to town; it applies to the minister who wants to go to the city church. (2) The tendency of country people as well as of town residents to be loyal to certain groups and institutions—the cake of custom. If we are reared one way we are conservative. "There is a difference in loyalty between the young and the old. The tendency is to be emotionally influenced by the particular type of living or organizations with which we have been associated and to feel that something is being lost if we do not hold that loyalty intact."³

Rural life conditions have undergone tremendous changes in the United States in the last few decades. Perhaps no institution has changed as little as the country church. Improved roads, the automobile, and other means of communication and transportation have annihilated distance. The mechanization of agriculture and agricultural education have transformed farming. The farm population has declined by approximately one-sixth since 1910. Rural needs have given us a type of community heretofore unknown, namely, the village which is the service station to the farmer. The individualism of the American farmer has largely given way to cooperative effort. The consolidated school has largely replaced the one-teacher school. Everywhere in rural America horizons are enlarging. This applies to everything except the country church. Just how many country churches there are in America and in the South no one knows—estimates range around 175,000 for the country. This includes the village churches. If all these rural churches were thrown into a hopper and assorted according to size, the most numerous group would be those churches with one or two rooms supported by a slowly declining number of active members served

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

by a non-resident minister, having but two organizations—an ungraded Sunday School and a ladies' aid society—competing for new members with several other churches, some of which would be aided in the struggle by home mission grants. This describes the average situation which practically all of the denominations cling to tenaciously and under which there can be no real religious progress.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL RURAL CHURCHES

Some years ago the Institute of Social and Religious Research, as reported in a volume on the country church, selected 40 successful rural churches out of 700 which had been suggested and made a detailed investigation of them.⁴ Due regard was paid to geographical and denominational distribution. In these churches the time-honored circuit rider has been succeeded by the resident minister with a comfortable parsonage. In seven out of every eight churches space has been provided somewhere in the church plan for social and recreational purposes and in two-thirds of these churches there was recreational equipment. Separate rooms for graded classes in religious education were the rule. Most of these churches had moving picture machines. Half of the church schools insisted on training their teachers instead of trusting to their good will and an old fashioned Sunday School Quarterly. Evangelism remained but it was of a variety that undergirded the emotional appeal with definite instruction in Christian faith and practices. Well developed beginnings had taken place in week-day religious instruction and in daily vacation Bible schools. Finances were on a budget basis and not dependent upon oyster suppers. The ministers were paid a living wage. The successful churches were thoroughly democratic and in general served all occupational classes. Without exception they were found to include community service as a part of their program and to cooperate freely with other churches, if there were any in their communities. In one-half of these successful church situations there were no other churches of the same major group, for example, Catholic or Protestant, in the same field. That these churches appealed to the people is shown by the fact that the average growth in membership was 400 percent above the national average. The per capita contributions were considerably above the national average and the time given to the church by the members averaged from three to six times the average for the Nation.

It would be interesting to take a dozen church situations ranging from highly successful to total failures and analyze the setup. The writer is familiar with successful country churches of various denominations. There are common factors found in almost all of them. The outstanding factors seem to be a homogeneous population, one church serving the community, a full time adequately paid and adequately trained minister serving the church and serving the community. Successful country churches have been written up world without end and almost always the same conditions are found. Several years ago at

4. Summarized from E. de S. Brunner, *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country* (New York: Geo. H. Doran Co., 1923), *passim*.

the University of North Carolina a study was made of a dozen successful country churches in North Carolina and Virginia and again the combination of conditions found in all of these churches was remarkably alike.⁵

There comes to mind a situation in which a Catholic priest settled in the open country and remained with his flock for approximately 30 years. When he left the community there were only Catholics in an area that had formerly been totally Protestant. A few miles away a Baptist minister and his wife devoted their entire lives to one church and this church had no competition. Today this particular community is solidly Baptist and is one of the most progressive communities in the State. In the beginning there were no schools. Today this community has an excellent elementary and high school, a junior college for girls, and a junior military college for boys. There are few communities in the Nation where the people take a more active part in church work than in these two communities—one Roman Catholic and the other Missionary Baptist.

GENERAL FACTS PERTAINING TO RURAL CHURCHES

A good many rural church surveys have been made. One authority claims that it is useless to make any more surveys; that this research field has been thoroughly cultivated. In connection with the conditions mentioned above, a few findings are herewith reported.

For example, a survey covering 179 counties throws light on the distribution of churches.⁶ The range was from one church per 317 population in the South to one church per 1,219 population in the Rocky Mountain States. The survey shows that the denser the population per square mile the fewer the number of inhabitants per church. The places with one to ten people per square mile had one church for every 701 persons. The areas with more than 40 people per square mile averaged one church for every 405 persons.

Some of the factors that affect church distribution are: the number and strength of the non-Protestant churches; the intensity of rivalry among Protestant churches; and the frequency and size of the communities. Areas in which a large number of small centers are found tend to be more overchurched than areas with large sized communities. Densely settled areas are always adequately supplied with churches, while many sparsely settled areas are inadequately supplied and often have no churches at all. The old areas, such as all of the South, tend to be overchurched more than areas which have not been settled so long. Racial groups tend to increase the number of churches, the extreme situation being found among whites and Negroes in the South.

Almost every rural church survey has shown the unfavorable effect of farm tenancy on church membership, church attendance, and church support. Those areas of the South occupied by home-owning farmers have much better rural churches than the areas occupied predominantly by tenants.

5. Inez C. Boney, unpublished study, University of North Carolina.

6. J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940), chap. 20, pp. 494-524, on Religion and the Rural Church provides an excellent discussion.

Mobility is also an important factor in church membership and attendance. The areas of excessive mobility are areas of weak churches. The migrant often moves into a community which does not have his particular brand of religion and he likely does not continue church attendance. It is a well known fact that a considerable number of people who move from the country to the town do not continue church connections and also a large number of people who move from the town to the country fail to participate in church activities in their new environment.

Church membership does not necessarily mean active membership. It is estimated, based on a reliable sample, that one-fifth of the members of village churches are inactive. In the South studies show that three-tenths of the village church members are inactive; one-sixth of all people carried on the church rolls are actually not residents of the communities any longer. This is probably why in those areas where population decreases the loss of church members is never as large as the loss of population. Perhaps the fact that those areas with a rapid increase in population do not have a proportionate increase in church membership is due to the tendency of migrants to discontinue their previous connections. In other words, the migrant is more likely to discontinue his church connection than is the person who remains at home.

The rural church is in general decline over the United States. The excessive number of rural churches is most definitely one of the chief reasons for this decline. The mortality rate of open-country churches is higher than that of village churches. A constantly decreasing percentage of rural population belongs to churches. In other words, the population grows faster than church membership.

Another outstanding trend in the decline of the open-country church is the tendency of open-country people to attend village-centered churches. In 1924, 31.6 percent of village church membership was from the open country, while in 1936 it was 38.2 percent. In the case of Protestant churches based on a study of 21 counties the percentages increased from 22.6 percent in 1920 to 39.3 percent in 1930. The increase was largest in the small villages indicating that, as open country churches decrease in membership or as they close, their members prefer churches in the villages. Open-country churches are dying faster than village churches.

Church attendance has declined both in the open country and in the villages of the Nation. The average village member attended church 3.9 times per month in 1924 and 2.8 times in 1936.

Some of the outstanding factors in the decline of the country church may be noted: First, there has been a marked *decline in the farm population*. The agricultural population of the United States declined steadily from 1910 to 1930. There was an increase in the farm population due to the depression but since 1933 the rate of decline has been excessive. There are probably five million fewer people on the farms of the United States *today* (1948) than in 1933. Data presented elsewhere have shown the facts for the South. The largest decreases in the South have occurred in the Cotton Belt counties. The decline of popu-

lation has forced many country churches to close and many to remain open which perhaps ought to close.

Overchurching is another important factor in the decline of the open country church. Denominational competition has caused too many churches to be built. In those areas which have experienced a loss of population many churches which struggled along have had to close with the loss of population.

Unquestionably there has been a *decline in sectarian interest*. The younger generation is definitely not so keenly interested in the theological differences which divide the various Protestant denominations of which there were some 250 in 1936. The differences between the leading Protestant denominations are becoming less and less important. This is because differences are of less and less importance to the people. The differences between individual churches in a modern rural community are more with regard to economic and social status than denominational differences. The writer knows of a small village with approximately 50 families and six Protestant churches. He was raised in a community which had two Baptist churches facing each other on a lonely country road. The issue that split the community wide open was the matter of how one should be baptized.

The church is now faced with *competition from many other agencies* for the time and interest of the people. A generation or more ago the church was the outstanding institution of the rural community and had a virtual monopoly as an institution. Today we find much better schools than formerly and these have sometimes become centers of life of both young people and adults. There are Scouts and 4-H Clubs for boys and girls; there are numerous farm organizations for men and women; there are motion picture theatres and many other attractions.

Another factor can be charged to the church itself. This is the *failure to change its program* to meet rapidly changing social and economic conditions. It has been slow to change particularly with regard to the organizations which it maintains for different ages and sexes. The lack of flexible progressive ministerial leadership in the open country particularly is a significant factor in the decline of the rural church.

It is generally thought that the *quality of personnel entering the rural ministry has declined* during recent decades. Rural churches tend to be served by fledgling ministers who desire to practice on the country people or by elderly ministers who are trying to piece together an existence in their old age. The country church should be served by country-minded ministers who are prepared specifically for rural church work and who are not waiting the first available opportunity to move to town. We definitely need rural ministers in the United States. Ministers, however, are rarely being trained by the theological seminaries, and the present rural church situation is not such as to attract competent ministers. Nonetheless, heartening exceptions in both training and recruitment can be found.⁷

7. See Richard O. Comfort, *The Training of Town and Country Ministers in the United States* (Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1946. Peabody Contribution to Education No. 382).

The chief function of the rural Protestant church has always been and still is Sunday preaching and revivals or protracted services usually held during the late summer or fall and generally attended by excessive emotionalism. As rural people have become better educated, some have become less interested in preaching and have come to feel the need for an educational program which will build character rather than try to achieve spiritual conversion of the individual. Obviously an educational program designed to build character and to improve the community cannot be carried out by a non-resident pastor who comes only once or twice a month. This fact is so clear that it is difficult to understand the indifferent attitude of churches. A definite type of minister is needed and a definite type of building adapted to the needs of the Sunday School, young people's organizations, and church groups which will make it a church home rather than a meeting house. The importance of a resident pastor for this type of program was stated by Luther Fry many years ago. "As a rule, only the churches with resident pastors have the necessary paid leadership to put on broad socio-religious programs."⁸ Only half of all rural ministers stay with the same church as long as three years. There are many progressive rural pastors who see the need for a new type of religious institution, but the rural church situation is such that opportunities for carrying out forward looking programs are rare. A change in the emphasis of the program of the rural church will not decrease its importance but definitely will give it a larger place.

A study covering 21 counties, reported by Dwight Sanderson,⁹ shows that country churches are short-changed in the quality of pastors. Slightly more than half of the pastors serving country churches had less than a college education, while approximately three-fourths of the pastors serving village churches and practically all pastors serving city churches had the equivalent of a college education. In the small country churches with non-resident ministers nearly two-thirds of the pastors had no competent college or seminary training. In the cases of rural churches served by resident pastors two-thirds were college graduates. Even these college graduates serving rural churches have little training in the knowledge of agriculture and country life, a knowledge which is essential for an understanding of the problems and attitudes of country church members. A good many church leaders recognize this deficiency and are making plans to cooperate with agricultural colleges in training rural pastors. No matter what the training, it would be difficult for a non-resident pastor to give adequate leadership. It is doubtful that the rural church will ever be a success until the situation has been changed so as to provide resident ministers in practically all rural churches.

The salary paid rural pastors is obviously inadequate to attract capable people. It is unbelievable that so many ministers live on as little cash income as church surveys indicate. The average salary for rural ministers in this country in recent

8. C. Luther Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1924), especially pp. 175-178.

9. Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1942), pp. 331-333.

years seems to run around \$1400 to \$1500 in the village churches and around \$1100 in the open country. The salary scales for ministers in the South are considerably below these figures. Churches are too well aware of this situation and there is no need of a lengthy discussion here.

A narrow loyalty which *places institutionalism ahead of community welfare* handicaps the effectiveness of the rural church. A denominational organization of religious life, which for financial reasons binds leaders to denominational support rather than community welfare, makes it difficult for a rural church to maintain its strength.

Absentee pastors who give spiritual instruction to church members, but who fail to give adequate pastoral service, constitute another weakness. There is, too, in many instances, *a lack of adaptation of the church plant to present community needs* brought about by social changes.

A drifting away from older beliefs on the part of people, especially youth, has resulted in a tendency towards an ethical and secular civilization which is different from a religiously based society. Orange Presbytery (North Carolina) meeting in July 1946 is said to have devoted an entire day to discussing whether or not dancing should be allowed at Flora McDonald College. The writer holds no brief for or against dancing, but he is certain that there are few young people who consider dancing a sin or who see any moral issue involved. It is not a question of whether dancing is right or wrong. It is mainly a question of the policy taken by the church and the corresponding results in the attitudes toward and affiliations with the church on the part of the young people. Some churches solve the problem by supervising dancing rather than outlawing it.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE COUNTRY CHURCH

The writer is not sure that he knows the answers to the country church problems and situations. He is reasonably familiar with proposals that have been made and the remarks that follow constitute a summary of what appear to be the best suggestions that have been offered. Furthermore, these are suggestions with which he can find no particular fault. Overlapping in the suggestions from different sources is inevitable and indeed serves to point up the general unanimity with which the various needs are recognized. It is realized that many of the suggestions may not be acceptable to a particular denomination or to individuals who are exceedingly denominationally minded. It is felt, however, that the present rural church situation is chaotic and rather hopeless. Everybody who has looked into the problem has agreed that changes must be made if the rural church is to become an effective institution in rural life.

There was held in Washington in the spring of 1946 a conference of rural church leaders and representatives, meeting with officials of the United States Department of Agriculture. This conference explored the rural church situation and suggested many constructive remedies, mainly concerned with how churches and church leaders can cooperate with agricultural extension agencies and other units of the Department of Agriculture. It is recommended that a full transcript of this two day conference be secured from the Extension Service of the

United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. and given careful consideration.¹⁰ The following are a few significant statements on the rural church brought out at this meeting.¹¹

1. Churches have a deep concern about soil conservation, the prosperity of farmers, and rural welfare. Poor land means poor people and poor churches. There is a definite relation between the rebuilding of soil and the rebuilding of human beings.

2. Cooperation among the churches is being extended. Many of the Protestant churches work together in the Federal Council of Churches, the Home Missions Council, and the International Council of Religious Education. These have a joint committee on town and country. Lutheran churches cooperate in the National Lutheran Council. The Protestant and Catholic bodies work together in many ways, such as preparing the recent pamphlet, *Man's Relation to the Land*.

3. Church bodies are increasing their interest in the rural church. Seminaries are adding rural departments. Denominations have established national and State rural church committees. The in-service schools and institutes are being given greater attention.

4. In training the clergy for rural life, we are not attempting to make them agricultural specialists. We do, however, want them to understand enough about farming and rural life to be able to give general agricultural guidance and encourage church members to use agricultural services.

5. The urban church is concerned about the rural church—its effectiveness in reaching people and the attitudes it creates—since about one-half of rural youth move to cities for job opportunities.

6. The church leaders, and especially the local clergy, have a great effect upon the attitude of the church members toward scientific agriculture and community life.

Farm people tend to think and act on the basis of previously acquired ideas, all too frequently influenced by prejudices and biases. The clergy can assist in developing receptive attitudes toward facts, ideas, and opinions, and toward changes in the economic and cultural life.

7. Educational leaders are uncertain how to work with church groups, since there are so many different bodies. Church people, also, are confused about the functions and relationships of the Federal and State agricultural agencies and the number and activities of the farm and cooperative organizations. Experience is the best way of obtaining answers to this situation. Agricultural leaders may need to take the lead in making contacts with church leaders, who, in many communities, are not working together.

8. There is a shortage of rural ministers. The young clergymen tend to seek town and city churches. The seminaries are not training sufficient ministers to provide for replacements. The shortage of ministers trained for rural life is especially acute, since few seminaries have rural departments. Seminaries, in

10. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Extension Service, Summary of Conference of Rural Church Leaders and Representatives of Agencies of U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March 12-13, 1946 (mimeographed).

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

general, have an urban viewpoint. Ministers need a broad training in rural life such as that provided by the agricultural colleges. Few ministers, however, come from the agricultural colleges.

9. The tenure of many ministers in rural communities is only two to three years, hardly time to become acquainted with the people and their institutions and beliefs.

10. The pastors are concerned with finding more effective methods of reaching the landless farmer—farm labor, croppers, and migrants.

11. The philosophy and goals of rural life are not well understood by ministers or rural people. We need to further develop a constructive rural philosophy among the people on the land.

12. The rural church leaders want to make greater use of the services of the Federal and State agricultural agencies and obtain improved mutual understanding with all the forces in rural life.

It has been brought out time and time again that the excessive number of small churches is one of the chief causes of stagnation and decline of the rural church. There is now one rural church in the South for every 300 people or less, while denominational leaders are in complete agreement that one church for every 1,000 people would be a much more desirable standard where population is homogeneous as to nationality and tradition. It is believed that sectarian differences do not mean as much to the present generation as to their forbears. There is a growing discontent with the maintenance of small struggling churches which cannot support a full-time minister and an adequate program. Such churches are unduly expensive and the returns are rarely worth the expenditures.

It has been proposed by the Home Missions Council, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and numerous individuals that some kind of community church is needed. There are three main types of such federated or community churches, namely, the undenominational church, the Federated Church, and the Denominational United or Community Church. There are considerably more than 1,000 such churches in the United States fairly well divided among the three types listed, with the Denominational United occurring somewhat more frequently. There are few such churches in the South.

Dwight Sanderson described these three along with two other related types of cooperative religious effort as follows:¹²

Federated Churches. "A federated church is composed of two or more organized churches differing in denomination, each related to its own denominational body, which have entered into an agreement to act together as regards local affairs. The denominational units retain their own rolls, usually keep in the hands of their own trustees their separate property, and almost always continue to send benevolences to their separate denominational boards. They combine in calling and paying a minister, hold services of worship in common, almost invariably conduct a common Sunday school, and frequently join in other local activities. . . . A federated church differs from united churches of the other types

12. Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-340. Quotations are from E. R. Hooker, *United Churches*, and Mark Rich, *The Larger Parish*.

in that, although it conducts most of its activities as a single church, it preserves the organic integrity of its denominational elements."

Undenominational Churches. As their name indicates, these churches have no denominational affiliation and are entirely independent, though with a religious condition for membership. They have often been called "union" or "community" churches, but these terms have been used with such varied meanings that the term undenominational is more definitive.

Denominational United Churches. The denominational united church is one "connected with a single denominational body, that has definitely undertaken or had allocated to it responsibility for the religious needs of a public not confined to one denominational group, and that includes in its membership—whether regular or associate—elements of different denominational origins. Members received from other than the official denomination are not required to surrender creed, form of baptism, or denominational loyalty."

Affiliated Churches. There is a fourth type of united church (fewest in number), which combines the characteristics of the undenominational and denominational united churches to an extent. A church of this type has the freedom to form its own constitution and control its own affairs as does the undenominational church, but it connects itself, or nominally affiliates, with a denominational body for certain specific purposes, usually for assistance in obtaining ministers and for the distribution of benevolences.

The Larger Parish. Another type of cooperation among rural churches is the larger parish. It does not undertake to change the number of existing churches, but to get them to work together in a larger program for the whole community. This usually results in the ultimate elimination of unnecessary churches. Although the term larger parish was first used to describe this type of organization in 1914, three-fourths or more of the larger parishes have been organized since 1927. The larger parish movement has been unfortunate in that it was going forward rapidly when the depression appeared in 1930, but in spite of that it has continued to grow, so that in 1934 Dr. Brunner found 197 larger parishes throughout the country.

"A larger parish is a group of churches in a larger community or a potential religious community, working together through a larger parish council and a larger parish staff to serve the people of the area with a diversified ministry."

This definition includes three essential elements: first, that it is community-wide; second, that it involves bona fide interchurch cooperation; third, that it involves a specialization in training and service of the professional, employed leaders. The churches of a larger parish elect representatives to a council which meets from time to time to pass upon general policies and a program of work for the whole parish. It employs any members of the staff who are employed by the larger parish. The salaried ministers and special workers form a staff which meets frequently to plan the immediate program.

The American Country Life Association meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in 1924 devoted several days to religion in country life. This conference was divided into several committees which brought in their respective reports toward the end of the conference. Some of these committee members were church officials and ministers and others were laymen sincerely interested in a better rural church.

The central criticism of the country church running throughout the entire session was excessive denominational competition which resulted to the detriment of the country church. It is recommended that rural church leaders read the entire *Proceedings* of this particular meeting of the American Country Life Association. A few recommendations brought out by the different committees and still good today were as follows:¹³

1. Every community with a population of 500 or more should have one competent, full time, well paid, resident pastor. The efforts of both the community and the denominational officials should be directed to our bringing about this desired result as nearly as possible. In communities that have less than 500 population, it is permissible for the pastor to preach at one other point. He should not, however, have more than two points, so that he will be able to conduct one good service in each place on each Sunday. It is understood that this desired result cannot be effected immediately, but it is an end toward which we should continually strive and which should be done at the earliest possible moment.

2. . . . In small communities of less than 1,000 population, one well equipped Protestant church, with well equipped, adequate leadership, will be considered sufficient to meet the needs. If additional workers are needed, as is often the case, the pastor should have assistants, specialized for young peoples' work or some other work of specialized activity, which would enable the church to reach different groups in that community, rather than to have more, all of whom are appealing to the same activity. When the population exceeds 1,000, it is open to question whether a second pastor should be installed. The decision should be based on the demand of the community.

3. Pastors who serve non-denominational churches should be treated without prejudice by their denominational officials. It is found oftentimes that if a man becomes a pastor of an independent or so-called Community Church, it prejudices his standing when he wants to change pastorates.

4. We commend to denominational officials and to others an unprejudiced study of the various kinds of community churches, with a view to discovering their strong points as well as their weaknesses. We know they are well aware of the weaknesses of the community church, but there are strong points there as well.

What steps should be taken to put these recommendations into effect? Recommendations of the Conference included the following, not many of which have been carried out with any marked degree of success in the intervening 24 years:¹⁴

1. Councils of churches should be formed in cities, counties and local communities. That is the Ohio program. It is actually being worked out . . . successfully.

2. We commend the efforts of Home Missionary Societies to withdraw support from competitive churches and petition them to pool their resources to support inter-denominationalism in churches rather than competing churches.

13. Based on *Religion in Country Life*, Proceedings of the Seventh National Country Life Conference of the American Country Life Association, p. 133.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

3. We desire more adequate and direct publicity for successful coöperative church undertakings.

4. We commend the methods whereby churches in natural community centers reach out into rural districts.

5. We favor the principle of community determination in the matter of determining what church organization shall operate in the local community.

6. We commend the consideration of the following methods of consolidating churches into community churches.

(a) A denominational church so broadening its terms of membership as to receive all Christian people, which may be [effected] by all denominations but one withdrawing from the field, or all denominations withdrawing and organizing a church of a different denomination.

(b) The formation of a federated church.

(c) The formation of a non-denominational community church receiving in its membership all Christians who wish to join.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion we would summarize the opportunities for improving the rural church as follows:

First, the church must come to an understanding of the rural problem. It must recognize that as an institution the rural church is in danger and why it is in danger.

Second, there should be coordination and consolidation of wastefully competing and duplicating churches. Perhaps the methods advocated by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America are as sound as any that have been proposed, that is, assignment of every part of rural and village territory to some pastor as his specific field to prevent overlapping of service or no service at all.

Third, there must be elimination of overchurching, which can be brought about by agreements among denominations or by substituting new denominations where desirable. Attention should be given to working out a comprehensive plan of service to the community for rural churches of all denominations. This means in brief one denomination, a capable resident minister, and a minister's home in the small community. In achieving this step, planning on both the subregional and community levels would seem to be essential.

Fourth, there should be specialization of ministers in rural work in both selection and training, and they should be paid a living wage.

Fifth, through the church there should be promotion of community development and the encouragement of worthy objects such as better farm production, marketing, health, recreation, home ownership, housing conditions, education, and the like.

Sixth, there should be adoption of the budget system of financing the church.

Seventh, we must have correlation of religious education in the churches with the work of the public schools as recommended in the August 1946 issue of the *Reader's Digest* and in State universities and colleges, as has been done at the University of Texas and on a small scale at the University of North Carolina.

Part II

THE URBAN SOUTH

by

LEE M. BROOKS

Chapter 4

PROFILE OF THE URBAN SOUTH

INTRODUCTION

ANY complete sociological profile of southern urban conditions and trends would call for the detailing of a vast amount of data. Probably no two people would select from the already accumulated wealth of material exactly the same facts with which to draw briefly a generalized sketch of southern cities. There would be agreement, however, on the need to preserve the comparative viewpoint and on the importance of seeing this profile against the national background.

Twenty years ago when Douglass was studying St. Louis, surveying districts by eleven social criteria, he wrote this under one of his maps: "The 'good' districts in St. Louis tend strongly to be good all around and the 'bad' ones to be bad all around." Similarly, Thorndike more recently has emphasized in his study of 310 cities: "Good traits go together in communities, as they do in persons." The regional studies of Odum and Vance reveal the same high correlation between indices of various sorts.¹ This is by way of explaining that we are not giving in this chapter a comprehensive picture by using many and varied indices, but are employing a few basic population facts and factors adapted from 1940 census reports. A few significant criteria should reveal almost as much—the "good" and the "bad"—as would be shown by an exhaustive list.

Ever present in a study of this sort is the inclination to include manifold interesting details of economic, political, educational, recreational, and other aspects of city life in the South. We come across, for example, an impressive table entitled "Median Years of School Completed for Persons 25 Years Old and Older, by Race-Nativity, Urban and Rural, 1940." From this it is a temptation to adapt a table showing the southern urban (and rural) educational situation, but we yield only to the extent of remarking here that the median years of school for urban Negroes in the Southeast is 4.5 less than for urban whites. Then there are facts on wage differentials, nutritional problems, and so on. Thus, there is a great deal of interesting information of significance to religious work and planning that cannot be included in a brief study of this type.

For the urban studies digested in Appendix B of Part IV, we have, so far as each study permitted, patterned our analyses with economic, political, educational, recreational, and religious factors in mind.

In the present chapter we shall first discuss urbanism in the eleven Southeastern States with frequent inclusion of five border States. Second, the sex

1. See H. Paul Douglass, *How to Study the City Church* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), p. 174; E. L. Thorndike, *Your City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939), p. 45; Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936); Rupert B. Vance, *All These People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), p. 383.

ratios and age composition will be dealt with briefly. Third, we shall look into the birth, death, and fertility conditions and trends with considerable emphasis on infant mortality. Fourth, the family and housing situation will be considered. All four parts will present urban comparisons, regional and national. This demographic material should be sufficient delineation to give a profile of southern urbanism, a sketching that would probably not be altered in any significant way if it were to be fully inclusive of data on social institutions.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 will be developed out of the digests (see Appendix B) which have been made of 50 different southern cities under 94 titles. Here we shall look into what has been revealed about these cities, examining the major areas of community life. Throughout the study, urban differences as to type and size of city will be kept in mind. Size will be a basic consideration. Communities are classified by size as follows: (1) those metropolitan centers with 100,000 people or more; (2) those middle-sized cities with 25,000 to 100,000; (3) those smaller cities with 10,000 to 25,000; and (4) those towns with 2,500 to 10,000. Rural situations enter this part of the study only for comparative purposes.

The eighth chapter will consider some of the implications for the urban church in the South, implications that seem to the author to emerge from the findings of Chapters 4 through 7. All the material of Chapter 8 will be presented objectively and with reference to some of the major research volumes on the church published in recent years.

Appendix B contains digests of representative studies of typical cities in the South generally covering the period 1930-1945. Most of these studies are sociological but some of them are not so in the strictly academic sense. Several deal with city government; a few, with planning, land-use, and such matters. Not many of these studies are published in printed book form, most of them being mimeographed or typed. A large majority are theses and dissertations by graduate students. Cities with or near colleges and universities are likely to undergo considerable scrutiny by social scientists. Since it is so vital to the South, the greatest single emphasis falls on the ethnic problem. One-fourth of the 94 studies focus on the Negro. Otherwise the distribution of emphasis is fairly even: general surveys and case studies, population and migration, government, planning and housing, health and welfare, delinquency, race relations, recreation, education, and religion. These digests, then, are representative of recent sociological studies of southern cities.

In the present chapter we shall stay close to factual precision, as this is made possible by 1940 Census data. The aim will be to present such facts, trends, and comparisons as will be of rather direct significance to the Committee on Religious Education Re-Study of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

SOUTHERN URBANISM

Two persons in every five in the South live under urban conditions, that is, in incorporated communities of 2,500 or more inhabitants. The urban population of the region in 1940 came to 16,682,213. Of the 3,464 cities in the

United States, as listed in the 1940 Census, 1,062 of them are in the sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia.² For the country as a whole 56.5 percent of the people live in urban communities. For the South as here defined only 38 percent are urban dwellers.

A total of 963 of the 1,062 cities in the South are under 25,000 in population as seen in Table 4. We have, therefore, a region characterized by small rather than large cities.

TABLE 4. URBAN PLACES AND THEIR POPULATION IN 16 SOUTHERN STATES*
AND
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1940

<i>Classification of urban places by size</i>	<i>Number in each size group</i>	<i>Population in each size group</i>	<i>Percent distribution of localities by size</i>	<i>Percent distribution of population by size of localities</i>
Total	1,062	16,682,213	100.00	100.00
2,500 to 5,000.....	511	1,531,358	48.1	9.2
5,000 to 10,000.....	286	1,930,710	26.9	11.6
10,000 to 25,000.....	166	2,441,789	15.6	14.6
25,000 to 50,000.....	43	1,437,335	4.1	8.6
50,000 to 100,000.....	32	2,176,820	3.0	13.0
100,000 to 250,000.....	12	1,823,276	1.0	9.8
250,000 to 500,000.....	9	3,002,686	1.0	19.2
Over 500,000.....	3	2,338,239	.3	14.0

*In Maryland only the city of Baltimore and four counties which have churches affiliated with The Presbyterian Church in the United States are included.

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940.*

Not only is it true that throughout the country from 1930 to 1940 the smaller cities have grown faster than the larger cities, but also for the eastern urban places in general the larger the city the greater the tendency for its population to show a relative decrease in its central areas. Especially is this observable for the metropolitan districts. (By 1940 the Southeast with thirty metropolitan districts had doubled the number for 1930.) Since 1930 several of the Nation's largest cities have actually decreased at the center while their outer metropolitan areas have increased in population. The corporate center of no southeastern city has decreased in population although Kansas City, St. Louis, and El Paso are examples of such decrease in the border States of Missouri and Texas. Cities of the Southeast and of bordering States—taken as typical and also because they are among the cities for which digests are to be found in Appendix B—reveal this decentralization process between 1930 and 1940, as indicated in Table 5. Much of the gain in population just outside the central

2. In Maryland only the City of Baltimore and four counties are included.

cities consists of what the census has designated "rural nonfarm" people. The decade 1930-1940 has seen especially rapid growth in these outlying areas, as made clear in Table 5. For the Nation's 140 metropolitan districts, the central cities gained 6.1 percent but the adjacent areas increased in population 16.9 percent. If, with these figures in mind, one inspects the 22 cities mentioned above it will be seen that southern cities are well above the average in their gains both within the central cities and in the outlying areas, particularly the latter.

TABLE 5. POPULATION OF CERTAIN METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS IN THE SOUTH WITH PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN CENTRAL AND OUTER AREAS BETWEEN 1930 AND 1940

City and State	Metropolitan population as of 1940*	Percent increase or decrease:	
		In central city	Outside central city
St. Louis, Mo.....	1,367,977	-0.7	17.0
Baltimore, Md.	1,046,692	6.7	29.9
Washington, D. C.....	907,816	36.2	82.4
Kansas City, Mo. } Kansas City, Kans. }	634,093	-0.2	31.0
New Orleans, La.....	540,030	7.8	26.0
Houston, Texas	510,397	31.5	168.6
Atlanta, Ga.	442,294	11.8	39.2
Louisville, Ky.	434,408	3.7	19.3
Birmingham, Ala.	407,851	3.0	13.9
Dallas, Texas	376,548	13.2	66.3
Miami, Fla.	250,537	55.6	263.6
Richmond, Va.	245,674	5.5	40.0
Nashville, Tenn.	241,769	8.8	33.9
Jacksonville, Fla.	195,619	33.6	17.7
Little Rock, Ark.	126,724	7.8	23.0
Mobile, Ala.	114,906	†	†
Charlotte, N. C.....	112,986	22.0	40.7
Austin, Texas	106,193	†	†
Augusta, Ga.	87,809	9.2	28.1
Greensboro, N. C.....	73,055	10.7	38.7
Durham, N. C.	69,683	15.7	46.2

*Metropolitan districts are not political units but lend themselves to integration of common economic, social and administrative interests for cities of 50,000 or more. In addition to a central city or cities, adjacent minor civil divisions having a population density of 150 or more per square mile are included. In this table, for example, corporate St. Louis has 816,048 people in 1940 (821,960 in 1930). Outside the corporate limits are 551,929 people in 1940 (471,556 in 1930).

†Data not available.

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Series P-3, No. 26.

For the last 20 to 30 years the urbanite has been gradually becoming a suburbanite. How significant in general is this decentralization or suburbanization? What are the attitudes and desires back of it? Recent sampling studies of preferences and expectations of city dwellers have shown a rather marked desire for many people to get out of the big city. Yet they still want to live within easy access of what the big city has to offer. How significant in particular is this population trend for planning in connection with religious organization and program?

SEX RATIOS AND AGE COMPOSITION

Cities, notably southern cities, attract more females than males. In the ratios of men to women for 1940 the United States has 100.7 men to 100 women.³ In the urban Southeast the ratio is 90.1, the *lowest of any region*. The rural Southeast has a ratio of 103.4.

The country as a whole shows a predominance of females especially in the age range 15 to 44 and in the old-age group.⁴ This is particularly true of the South. In fact, most of eastern United States is relatively high in the proportion of women. The only southern States that do not reveal this higher number of females, age 15 to 44, are Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. Female preponderance occurs in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina at all ages above 15 for both white and non-white although the numbers of non-white men and women 55 to 75 are practically equal.

The population is aging. This is true for the Nation and for the South, for the urban and for the rural. If we construct the usual population pyramid of 5-year steps we see graphically the reduction in the proportion of children and the increase in that of elders. The old broad-based symmetrical pyramid of earlier decades when children under 15 predominated no longer depicts the situation. In 1930 there were 55.5 percent of our southern people under 30 years of age; in 1940 there were 52 percent.

The median age for the Nation in 1930 was 26.5 years; in 1940 it was 29 years. The following list indicates the youthful character of the population of the Southeast in terms of median age:

Southeast's median age	24.8 years
Northwest's median age	27.7 years
Northeast's median age	30.8 years
Far West's median age	32.2 years

3. See Appendix B, "The Excess Female Population of Durham. . ." by Irvin Dunskey (B-32). All figures, ratios, etc., henceforth in our presentation will refer to the 1940 Census unless otherwise stated.

4. Life expectancy at birth for the United States: white males, 62.94; white females, 67.31; Negro males, 53.04; Negro females, 56.01. For the Southeast life expectancies are from one-half to one-and-one-half years less than for the country as a whole, but for the whites this difference decreases so that after age 25 the southern life expectancy equals that of the Nation. See R. B. Vance, *All These People*, pp. 39-42; 352-4.

The range for these medians in the Southeast runs from South Carolina's 22.2 years to Missouri's 31.1 years. California has the highest median age in the country, 33.0 years.

The Nation's urban population in 1940 had a median age of 31.0 years, the rural-nonfarm stood at 27.7, and the rural-farm was 24.4 years.⁵ The median age of the urban population in 1930 was 28.4 years.

Southern cities as elsewhere have had a continuing decline in the number of children under 15. Cities, however, draw the older youth. Heavy out-migration from rural areas begins at an earlier age for females than for males. The girls begin to go cityward at about age 20 and the boys at age 25. In older ages more men tend to remain on farms whereas women seek urban conditions.

One conclusion is clear, that for the years just ahead the South is the potential seedbed of the Nation from the standpoint of number of children and youth and relative number of females in the childbearing years. That the region has been the actual seedbed in recent decades can be shown by studies of its fertility. It leads the Nation in large families and high birth rates. However, during pre-war years fertility rates in the South showed a marked decline. The war and post-war period has seen a marked upswing in births in the South as elsewhere in the Nation, but it is generally believed that this is a temporary phenomenon.

BIRTH, DEATH, AND FERTILITY TRENDS

Before examining specific figures for the southern cities included in this study, it seems desirable to look at the national picture using crude figures and later pointing to somewhat more refined calculations.

Birth and death rates per thousand of the general population are admittedly only rough indicators of conditions and trends. Not all States are zealous in recording births and deaths. High rates of unrecorded births are indicated for all the southern States except Mississippi, Virginia, and North Carolina. It appears from a special study in 1943 that something less than 90 percent of the births are registered in the following States, most of them southeastern and southwestern: Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Colorado. For the rest of the country birth registrations are well over 90 percent of estimated births.⁶

Because of their background value and despite the allowances that must be made in connection with intraregional and interregional comparisons, certain crude data for the sixteen southern States are given in Table 6. The natural increase (the death rate subtracted from the birth rate) for the Southeast is 11.0 or 3.9 higher than for the Nation. For the Nation's whites alone the natural increase was also 7.1. For all other races, mostly Negroes, the birth rate was 21.7 and the death rate 13.8, a natural increase of 7.9. These are but crude figures. They do not take into account the specific age groupings, par-

5. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Series P-10, No. 6.

6. See Vance, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4, quoting Neff's study; also *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*, pp. 45-6.

ticularly of females in the childbearing age range and the number of daughters produced. They do reveal with certainty the South as a region of high fertility.

TABLE 6. CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES WITH NATURAL INCREASE BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE PER 1,000 POPULATION, AND MEDIAN AGES FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1940*

Area	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase	Median Age
United States	17.9	10.8	7.1	29
Alabama	22.2	10.4	11.8	23.8
Arkansas	19.7	8.7	11.0	24.8
Florida	17.8	12.1	5.7	28.9
Georgia	20.8	10.4	10.4	24.5
Kentucky	22.3	10.4	11.9	25.4
Louisiana	21.5	10.8	10.7	25.5
Mississippi	24.1	10.6	13.5	23.8
North Carolina	22.6	9.0	13.6	23.1
South Carolina	23.4	10.6	12.8	22.2
Tennessee	19.1	10.3	8.8	25.8
Virginia	20.6	11.0	9.6	25.8
Maryland	16.6	12.1	4.5	29.6
Missouri	16.4	11.6	4.8	31.1
Oklahoma	19.1	8.8	10.3	26.2
Texas	19.7	9.7	10.0	26.8
West Virginia	22.1	9.3	12.8	24.3

*Rates are exclusive of stillbirths.

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Series P-10, No. 6, Table 3. Also *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*, Tables 1 and 44, pp. 124 and 667.

Florida has the lowest crude birth rate, the highest death rate, and the highest median age in the southeastern region. This is consistent. If, however, Florida is compared in specific age groupings, with South Carolina, for example, we find that Florida has a lower death rate in every instance but one, the 5 to 14 year group and even there the rate is equal. This is a case where a state or community may have a larger proportion of persons in the older age groups and thus, because the mortality at these ages is higher, the total number of deaths at all ages is greater. Yet if we were to consider only the total crude birth and death rates of the two States, Florida would be shown at a disadvantage particularly with its high death rate. This is but to emphasize the necessity of looking beyond crude rates for more accurate conditions and trends. Any fully meaningful presentation of the dynamics of population would involve far more space and discussion than we can give here.

Table 7 on death rates brings the focus more sharply upon the cities in the South. Differences in data by "place of residence" and by "place of occurrence" explain the slight differences between total death rates in Tables 6 and 7.

TABLE 7. DEATH RATES BY SIZE OF CITY AND BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE PER 1,000 POPULATION FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1940*

Area	Total Rate	All Races in Cities of:			Rural
		100,000 or more	10,000 to 100,000	2,500 to 10,000	
United States	10.8	11.3	11.4	12.4	9.8
Alabama	10.4	11.7	13.3	11.7	9.6
Arkansas	8.8	.....	14.0	13.0	7.5
Florida	11.4	11.6	13.1	14.8	9.6
Georgia	10.4	13.1	13.6	13.7	8.8
Kentucky	10.5	13.3	14.1	15.4	9.0
Louisiana	10.8	13.5	12.2	16.0	8.7
Mississippi	10.7	.....	13.1	13.5	10.0
North Carolina	8.9	9.4	10.5	9.9	8.4
South Carolina	10.7	.....	14.5	13.5	9.6
Tennessee	10.1	12.3	12.0	11.6	9.0
Virginia	11.1	12.2	11.7	12.7	10.6
Maryland	12.1	12.6	11.4	13.7	11.5
Missouri	11.6	12.6	12.5	14.0	10.3
Oklahoma	8.9	9.9	11.9	13.9	7.3
Texas	9.8	11.5	11.1	13.0	8.1
West Virginia	9.3	.....	11.0	13.1	8.4

*Rates are exclusive of stillbirths.

Source: *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*. The above tabulation is adapted from Table 11, pp. 198-209. The original complete table gives the death rates by specific age groups and includes separate figures for all races, for white, and for all other races.

The infant mortality rate may well be considered an index, perhaps the primary indicator, of the plane of living or the cultural level of a society. The public health experts view it as a most important index. Dr. E. L. Thorndike in his book *Your City*—in which all southern cities in the total 310 studied ranked very low in his General Goodness score—gives heavy weighting to infant mortality in his measuring device.

In 1940, for every 1,000 live births in the Nation, 47 infants under 1 year died. For the whites this infant death rate was 43.2 and for all other races, mostly Negro, it was 73.8. Back of all these figures is a marked decline in infant mortality for the past several decades. A corresponding decline can be noted in maternal mortality but figures for this are not included here.

In common with the country as a whole the larger southern cities generally have a more favorable infant mortality rate than is true for cities under 10,000. Among the few exceptions to this would be New Orleans, Birmingham, Dallas, Mobile, and Austin with high rates of between 55 and 60. On the other hand there is the small city of Decatur, Georgia, a residential community with a rate of only 33.4. For all United States cities of 100,000 or more in 1940, the infant mortality rate was 39.3 as contrasted with 53.4 for cities of 2,500 to 10,000. The profile of infant mortality for the South by size of city is shown in

Table 8. It must be stated, however, that infant mortality rates contain errors resulting from inaccuracies in the basic data. Definitions and registrations of stillbirths are not uniform. A more serious source of error is underregistration to which we have already called attention. A decline in infant mortality rates may not mean a bettering of mortality conditions for "without saving a single infant life it is possible to lower the infant mortality rate by improving birth registration."⁷

TABLE 8. INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY SIZE OF CITY AND BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1940*

Area	Total Rate	All races in cities of:				Rural
		100,000 or more	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
United States	47.0	39.3	45.1	48.4	53.4	50.1
Alabama	61.5	60.6	70.2	70.8	64.7	59.9
Arkansas	47.0	.....	44.9	59.9	59.9	44.5
Florida	53.8	49.9	51.8	59.3	52.2	55.5
Georgia	57.8	48.1	51.3	57.5	59.7	60.1
Kentucky	53.1	49.6	56.3	78.5	68.5	50.8
Louisiana	64.3	58.5	53.0	83.8	84.4	62.5
Mississippi	54.4	.....	71.0	69.4	67.6	51.6
North Carolina	57.6	45.7	58.1	63.3	54.5	57.7
South Carolina	68.2	.....	62.4	70.3	70.3	68.5
Tennessee	53.5	50.9	65.8	72.9	55.0	53.0
Virginia	58.5	52.9	56.1	50.9	55.8	60.3
Maryland	49.1	46.5	48.3	51.6	49.9	51.5
Missouri	46.9	40.4	50.3	41.4	58.1	49.0
Oklahoma	49.9	51.8	49.8	55.4	61.9	45.9
Texas	68.3	64.7	67.4	90.0	80.9	63.5
West Virginia	53.7	.....	44.0	55.4	55.8	54.9

*Rates are exclusive of stillbirths and are the number of deaths under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*. The above tabulation is adapted from Table 28, pp. 578-605. The original complete table includes the years 1915 to 1940 for all the States, gives separate figures for all races, white, and all other races, and the rates for rural areas. Corresponding data for maternal mortality are given in Table 37.

The infant mortality rate for all "other races" throughout the country is much higher than for the white group. By breaking down the factor of race into "white" and "all other races," North Carolina's figures, for example, are as follows for the largest to the smallest cities:

	Total	Size of City				Rural
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
White	49.8	26.1	41.0	54.6	46.2	51.6
All other races	73.8	91.2	88.5	83.8	81.4	70.1

7. I. S. Falk, *The Principles of Vital Statistics* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1923), p. 14.

Infant mortality for southern cities of 10,000 or more in this census study is presented in Table 9. These cities are listed from the lowest to the highest infant mortality. The rates for "white" and for "all other races" are also given.

TABLE 9. INFANT MORTALITY FOR CITIES OF 10,000 OR MORE, LISTED FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST MORTALITY BY RACE, 1940*

<i>City and State</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>All other races</i>
Decatur, Ala.	33.4	10.9	105.9
Charlottesville, Va.	37.0	33.7	49.4
Greensboro, N. C.	37.0	27.1	66.9
Saint Louis, Mo.	39.9	34.8	65.5
Kansas City, Kans.	41.2	37.7	60.1
Kansas City, Mo.	41.4	37.9	72.9
Augusta, Ga.	43.4	32.3	57.6
High Point, N. C.	43.6	44.3	40.3
Charlotte, N. C.	45.7	26.1	91.2
Houston, Texas	45.8	37.8	78.3
Baltimore, Md.	46.5	38.2	70.0
North Little Rock, Ark.	47.6	25.9	91.5
Jacksonville, Fla.	48.0	47.5	49.1
Atlanta, Ga.	48.1	32.1	78.0
Richmond, Va.	48.3	38.5	64.8
Little Rock, Ark.	49.3	41.9	71.2
Washington, D. C.	49.3	37.7	69.5
Louisville, Ky.	49.6	44.1	89.4
Greenville, S. C.	49.7	37.6	73.0
Lynchburg, Va.	50.0	43.4	67.9
Nashville, Tenn.	51.6	44.0	72.9
Miami, Fla.	52.1	41.0	87.9
Durham, N. C.	52.6	34.5	75.5
West Palm Beach, Fla.	54.4	34.6	93.8
Mobile, Ala.	55.2	42.8	73.2
Gastonia, N. C.	55.9	55.1	60.6
Dallas, Texas	56.1	44.1	109.6
Natchez, Miss.	57.8	64.9	48.6
New Orleans, La.	58.5	41.6	84.6
Anderson, S. C.	59.5	43.5	184.6
Austin, Texas	59.9	63.0	42.6
Birmingham, Ala.	60.6	43.5	79.7
Raleigh, N. C.	62.6	45.2	90.9
Columbia, Tenn.	72.5	66.7	87.7
Kingsport, Tenn.	75.0	68.5	363.6
Gainesville, Fla.	75.5	63.4	97.3
Meridian, Miss.	77.9	75.8	82.4
Greenwood, Miss.	78.1	99.3	54.7

*Rates are exclusive of stillbirths and are the number of deaths under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*. The above tabulation is adapted from Table 54, pp. 796-822. Note: In several cities—Decatur, Charlottesville, Natchez, Kingsport, Anderson, Austin, Meridian, and Greenwood being among them—the frequency of infant deaths was less than 20. This is an important consideration especially when comparing rates between small places and large cities.

Rates for births, deaths, infant mortality, and fertility, with very few exceptions—notably the upswing in births during and since the recent war—have been definitely downward for the entire United States. Fertility at all ages is highest among the Southeast's white women, and next highest among its Negroes. Research indicates that while families will want two children, those mothers with two or three do not want additional children sufficiently to maintain previous rates of reproduction.⁸ Large families are not in prospect. In 1920 there were 72.4 births per 1,000 women in the age range 10 to 54. By 1930 the rate had declined to 56.2 and by 1940 it was 52.0. In this latter connection Table 10 gives details for the cities of the South. The only States in the sixteen that have a higher total birth rate in 1940 than was given for 1930 were Louisiana and Oklahoma. The birth rate for southern cities above 10,000 population is consistently lower than the total birth rate for State and region. Cities under 10,000 often exceed the high fertility of rural areas.

TABLE 10. BIRTH RATES PER 1,000 WOMEN AGE 10 TO 54, BY SIZE OF CITY AND BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE FOR SOUTHERN STATES, 1940*

Area	Total Rate	All races in cities of:				Rural
		100,000 or more	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
United States	52.0	42.8	47.5	49.5	56.9	59.8
Alabama	64.0	48.2	48.1	49.8	58.5	70.7
Arkansas	58.5		46.8	48.6	57.8	60.6
Florida	50.5	43.7	42.6	48.3	54.5	56.2
Georgia	58.9	51.9	54.7	53.1	71.3	59.7
Kentucky	68.1	51.1	54.2	53.4	65.0	74.2
Louisiana	61.2	48.2	53.0	58.7	70.6	66.4
Mississippi	70.6		41.8	50.4	52.6	76.9
North Carolina	64.7	51.1	46.9	53.2	56.4	70.7
South Carolina	67.5		57.2	67.1	70.2	68.9
Tennessee	54.7	48.0	53.7	53.3	55.2	57.7
Virginia	62.4	45.7	51.7	49.6	61.4	69.7
Maryland	51.4	44.6	49.7	46.6	61.0	60.1
Missouri	47.7	39.8	43.1	44.9	55.4	53.7
Oklahoma	56.8	48.7	45.2	53.1	67.1	58.5
Texas	56.7	54.4	55.9	53.8	70.7	54.9
West Virginia	66.4		51.5	50.1	63.3	71.9

*Rates are exclusive of stillbirths.

Source: *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940*. The above tabulation is adapted from Table 51, pp. 685-97. The original complete table also gives the specific birth rates by age of mother and includes separate figures for all races, for white, and for all other races.

8. See Vance, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8 quoting Whelpton.

Earlier we stated that fertility is highest for the Southeast's white women. With very few exceptions this is true for southern cities of all sizes for all child-bearing age-groups of women. As we indicated for infant mortality rates, using North Carolina as an example, a breakdown of the "all races" category into "white" and "all other races" reveals the characteristic higher fertility of the whites in the largest to the smallest cities. The smaller the city the higher the fertility rate.

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of City</i>				<i>Rural</i>
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
White	61.3	53.1	47.0	54.8	57.5	64.9
All other races	73.2	47.0	46.8	49.9	52.9	86.4

To put it another way, "all other races" shows a lower birth rate than do the whites in southern cities. Also in the rural areas of four States—Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia, most of which are States with under-registered births—other races show a lower birth rate. The heavily productive years for Negro women in southern cities are from age 15 to 25. Negroes have shared in the sharp decline in births generally but their total fertility has risen since 1930 due to increased births in the age range 15 to 25.

With regard to prolificacy in the South: Rural dwellers are much more prolific than city dwellers, younger populations than older ones, people in poor areas than those in better areas, and whites than Negroes because the effect of excess fertility among Negro females has been largely offset by a life expectancy of 13 years less than that among white females.⁹ Cities in the United States fall far short of replacing their population. This shortage would vary in amount from city to city as it does in the South. Miami's net reproduction rate would be much lower than Charlotte's. Rural areas are producing the necessary daughters who themselves live to become mothers of more daughters. This, the basis of net reproductivity, is especially true of the South where is found the highest reproduction index in the country.

FAMILIES AND DWELLINGS

In the decade 1930-1940, while the total national population increased only 7.2 percent, the number of households increased 16.6 percent or nearly 5 million. The increase in number of families is as significant as increases in the population, for it measures the demand for new houses and for all types of household goods and conveniences. Over a long period it represents rising levels of living as more young couples are able to move from under the parental roof. The trend is explained partly by age make-up, for we are now in the period where large proportions of the population are in the youthful ages at which family attachments are formed. The setting up of new households is closely related

9. See Vance, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

to the supply of new housing. The Far West with large in-migration and the economic ability to build houses can be contrasted with the Southeast and its relatively low ability to produce houses. In the South's urban areas white and colored households are the same size, 3.7 persons. For the Nation the average size of household is largest among the farm population, 4.25 and is over 4.5 in the Southeast.¹⁰ Only Florida and Arkansas of the eleven Southeastern States fall below an average of four members per family.

Southern cities have a disproportionate amount of housing in which there is overcrowding, more cities than any other region reporting dwellings in which there are more than 1.5 persons per room. As for characteristics of housing, of the 199 cities having 50,000 people or more in 1940, for which data are available, 53 cities are in the South. The best 10 percent of these 199 cities are found mostly in the Northeast and Far West. The worst 10 percent are found exclusively in the Southeast and Southwest. Of the more than 12,000,000 occupied dwelling units reporting, 5.4 percent is the average overcrowding for the 199 cities. Table 11 gives the picture in outline. Only 6 cities in the South, or 3 percent of the total 199, approximate the national average. This predicament of southern cities is due mainly to conditions among Negroes. In order that this problem may be seen in fuller perspective, we offer Table 12 listing 21 of the larger southern cities with which this study deals.

TABLE 11. ROOM OVERCROWDING IN 199 CITIES HAVING 50,000 PEOPLE OR MORE, BY PERCENT OF DWELLINGS WITH 1.51 OR MORE PERSONS PER ROOM, 1940

Percent of units with 1.51 or more persons per room	United States		South	
	Number of cities	Percent	Number of cities	Percent
Total	199	100.0	53	100.0
0- 5.9	131	66.0	6	11.3
6-11.9	46	23.0	26	49.1
12-17.9	17	8.5	16	30.2
18-25.9	5	2.5	5	9.4

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Series H-5, No. 4.

For these 21 cities—and for the total 199—there was a fairly high correlation between room overcrowding and the need for housing repair and plumbing equipment in 1940. No large southeastern or southwestern city, new or old, resort or industrial, residential or commercial, had a relatively favorable position in regard to housing. Too many of their dwellings were in need of major repairs or were without adequate bathing facilities. Those with the most favorable housing situation among the 21 cities were the following, with percentage of dwellings needing repairs given in parentheses: Washington (18.6), Miami

10. See Vance, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-8.

TABLE 12. TOTAL POPULATION, PERCENTAGE NEGRO POPULATION, TOTAL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, PERCENTAGE OCCUPIED BY NON-WHITE, PERCENTAGE OVERCROWDED, AND RANK BY PERCENTAGE OVERCROWDED FOR LARGER SOUTHERN CITIES, 1940

City	Total population	Percent Negro	Total occupied dwelling units	Percent occupied by non-whites	Total percent overcrowded	Rank by percent overcrowded
Atlanta	302,288	34.6	82,000	34.6	16.2	21
Augusta	65,919	41.0	17,510	44.1	15.8	20
Austin	87,930	16.9	22,519	16.1	14.7	18
Baltimore	859,100	19.3	227,582	17.2	3.4	1
Birmingham	267,583	40.7	71,798	41.1	13.6	15
Charlotte	100,899	31.1	24,966	30.8	11.8	13
Dallas	294,734	17.1	84,091	16.5	11.3	12
Durham	60,195	38.8	15,277	38.8	14.1	17
Greensboro	59,319	27.6	14,598	26.3	9.1	7
Houston	384,514	22.4	107,530	22.7	10.8	11
Jacksonville	173,065	35.7	45,377	33.8	8.7	6
Kansas City	399,178	10.4	122,103	10.9	5.8	2
Little Rock	88,039	25.1	24,672	26.2	10.0	9
Louisville	319,077	14.8	89,955	16.3	10.8	11
Miami	172,172	21.4	48,483	17.1	7.6	4
Mobile	78,720	36.9	20,512	36.9	14.9	19
Nashville	167,402	28.3	45,804	29.9	13.9	16
New Orleans	494,537	30.1	133,040	31.2	13.0	14
Richmond	193,042	31.7	50,917	30.7	7.5	3
St. Louis	816,048	13.3	234,872	12.5	9.9	8
Washington	663,091	28.2	173,445	23.0	8.5	5

Sources: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Series H-5, No. 4; Series NP, No. 10; Series P-3, No. 8.

(19.0), Baltimore and Kansas City, Mo. (each 28.9), followed by Dallas, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Austin ranging between 30.0 and 35.0 percent. The worst conditions of repair were found in Durham (58.9), Nashville (58.8), Augusta (56.8), Birmingham (56.2), and Atlanta (49.1). The war period has, of course, greatly aggravated the housing problem in most southern cities.

The figures for Atlanta and Birmingham do not seem to reflect the improvements brought about by slum clearance projects through the United States Housing Authority. Both cities, especially Atlanta, were leaders in local-national housing cooperation. Their percentages, however, could not have been greatly improved by these projects because the original need was so great. Their progressive housing activity, nonetheless, is in marked contrast to the resistance of some southern cities which have either claimed that they had no slums or that they did not need a housing inventory. In two such cities in North Carolina over 57.0 percent of the housing is in need of major repairs. While southern communities have their full share of apathetic citizens and resistive vested

interests, many of them indulging in the myth of slumlessness, other southern cities have eagerly engaged in special housing inventories (see Appendix B, Digest B-94) and then have gone ahead into activity about better housing.

The facts remain: southern city housing figures stand in stark contrast to conditions elsewhere. Comparisons provoke questions that should be faced and acted upon by educational, religious, and political leaders. The following cities, among the 199 of 50,000 population or more, show less than 15 percent of the housing in need of major repairs.

California:	Berkeley, Glendale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Pasadena, San Diego, Santa Monica
Connecticut:	Hartford, New Britain
Illinois:	Cicero, Evanston, Oak Park
Massachusetts:	Brockton, Holyoke, Lawrence, Medford, Newton, Quincy, Springfield, Worcester
Michigan:	Dearborn, Detroit, Highland Park
New Jersey:	East Orange, Irvington
New York:	Mt. Vernon, New York City, Schenectady
Ohio:	Cleveland Heights, Lakewood
Rhode Island:	Pawtucket

We call attention to the fact that with few exceptions the northeastern cities listed above are old industrial or commercial cities. It would be too easy to glance at California and say: "Oh yes, new cities and wealthy migrants." Bad housing in old southern cities cannot be comfortably explained away. Most of these non-southern cities from California to Rhode Island are among the top-scorers in Thorndike's compilation based on 37 factors (averaging a half dozen each under health, education, literacy, wealth, recreation, public property valuations, and household conveniences) that establish the "General Goodness" of a city.

SUMMARY

We have dealt with urban demographic conditions chiefly in the sixteen southern States. The 1,062 cities of the South contain 38 percent of the region's people, 963 of these cities having less than 25,000 inhabitants each. The metropolitan districts in the South, as elsewhere in the country, reveal a strong sub-urban trend. The rate of population increase at the city center is slowing down and speeding up outside the central city.

Southern cities have 10 percent more women than men as compared with the region's rural areas with 3.4 percent more men than women. Girls start cityward at about age 20 and boys at age 25. City and country, the South has a predominance of women in the child-bearing age range, 15 through 44.

The population in Nation and region is aging. The Southeast's median age of 24.8 years, the lowest in the country, indicates youth potential. The urban

median age in 1940 was 2.6 years older than it was in 1930. Southern cities as elsewhere have had a continuing decline in the number of children under age 15. The region, still leading in large families and high birth rates, is showing a marked decline in fertility rates.

Rates for births, deaths, infant mortality, and fertility have been definitely downward with very few exceptions for the entire country.

Crude birth and death rates as compared with national figures make clear the South's high fertility. In these rates, border States such as Florida, Maryland, and Missouri, approximate the national figures. The natural increase of population (the excess of births over deaths) is 3.9 per 1,000 higher in the Southeast than for the country as a whole. These crude figures, however, do not take into account specific age groupings. (Florida actually has a favorably low death rate as compared with South Carolina whose crude figures *appear* more favorable.) Nor do these rates consider underregistration of births in several southern States.

Death rates vary somewhat by size of city. Southern cities of all sizes generally have a higher rate than that for the Nation and for the rural areas.

The Nation's infant mortality rate, a primary indicator of general cultural level, has been declining for several decades. Larger southern cities, with few exceptions, generally have a more favorable infant mortality rate than is true for small cities and rural areas in the region. For southern cities of all sizes the differences between rates for whites and Negroes is often spectacular. Most frequently the loss of Negro babies is two to three times that for white.

Birth rates for all the larger southern cities markedly exceed the national average for corresponding cities. Southern cities under 10,000 often exceed the high fertility of rural areas. Southeastern white women generally show a higher fertility than do Negro women. The smaller the city the higher the fertility rate. Negroes have shared in the sharp decline in births but their total fertility has risen since 1930 due to increased births in the age range 15 to 25. The effect, however, of excess fertility among Negro females is largely offset at present by their shorter life expectancy, 13 years less than that for whites. Rural areas are producing most of the future mothers. Cities were not reproducing themselves before the war; their growth has lately depended largely upon immigration.

While families still want two children, those mothers with two or three do not want additional children sufficiently to maintain the earlier rates of reproduction. Large families are not in prospect for Nation or region. However, since 1930 the number of households has increased 16.6 percent and this has meant a large demand for more housing.

Southeastern and southwestern cities have overcrowded dwellings to an extent greater than can be found in any other region of the country. The worst 10 percent, in overcrowding, of 199 cities of 50,000 or more people is found in the South. Overcrowding is related to general housing conditions. Good cities do not tolerate bad housing for white men, women, and children do not exist by adequate housing alone, they do not live properly without it.

Chapter 5

METROPOLITANISM IN THE SOUTH

INTRODUCTION

URBAN communities from Maryland to Florida, from Texas to Missouri, grouped as large, medium-sized, and small cities, are treated in the following three chapters according to topics that are as non-sequential as the spokes of a wheel. Religion-economics-politics, health-housing-education, they go round and round together. We choose to start with economics and end with housing. They are related to each other and to all the others: politics, education, religion, health and welfare, recreation, crime and delinquency, mobility, and race.

We cannot hope to summarize the many southern urban studies in any complete way. If, for example, one looks for child welfare, it has no special place or heading but it is implicit in our entire presentation and is centrally explicit in health and welfare. In fact, the child and youth are the hub of our interest. Little more can here be done than to bring together a few bits of sociological meaning as these appear in the digests of urban studies given in Appendix B.* The insertion of numerals in parentheses at the end of a sentence or paragraph indicates the page in the Appendix where fuller discussion can be found. If occasional differences are noted in percentages or population figures as given in studies and as presented in Chapter 4, the tabulated figures in the previous chapter or those footnoted can be accepted as correct.

This chapter deals with 14 metropolitan centers whose population is 100,000 or more; Chapter 6 with a dozen medium-sized cities between 25,000 and 100,000 population; and Chapter 7 with twenty-odd places between 2,500 and 25,000 population. This admittedly is a somewhat arbitrary grouping by size but it does conform fairly closely with census classifications as used in Chapter 4 and in Appendix B. Nor are we doing much more, in this threefold separation by size, than feeling our way as to possible sociological comparisons and contrasts. The regional scatter of the urban places covered in these three chapters may be seen in Figure 1, pages 22-23.

The digests in Appendix B and the topical treatment of them in these several chapters may have errors of fact or of emphasis. This is practically unavoidable. We have sample-checked two of the studies by calling on well informed residents who have lived for many years in the two cities. While these collaborators confirm most of the details given in the digests, in one case at least it is clear that the original writer overlooked important data and also, what was beyond the original writer's control but is nevertheless of interest to us, things have changed since the original study was made. So, if a city like Gainesville, Florida, or Tarboro, North Carolina, seems to be wrongly presented under a favorable or an un-

*The digests in Appendix B were prepared by Evelyn C. Brooks and Sara E. Smith, Research Assistant in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

favorable light, in the opinion of someone who is well acquainted with past and present facts in such cities, we urge you to believe that we have done the best we could. Most of the digests represented studies made in the late 1930's or early 1940's but some are for somewhat earlier years. In referring to conditions revealed in these studies, we shall, however, use the present tense.

Of the South's 30 metropolitan centers, we have analyzed and digested studies for 14 of them. These selected cities afford considerable variation by location, size, and type. All the broader regional subdivisions are represented. There are inland transportation centers, river and ocean port cities; there are small metropolitan areas such as Charlotte, North Carolina, and large ones where the population runs over a million as in Baltimore, Maryland, and St. Louis, Missouri. For most of them there are points of special significance wherein economic, political, and other processes and problems are inextricably meshed with each other and, to a large extent, with natural and human resources of the southern regions. Cities with or near universities and colleges are more likely to afford a quantity of urban studies. This in part explains why Atlanta; Georgia; Dallas, Texas; Louisville, Kentucky; Nashville, Tennessee; and St. Louis, Missouri, as well as other smaller cities, have several titles each.

ECONOMICS

We must emphasize again that it is impossible to give a compartmental economic interpretation that is not permeated by other factors. Because community welfare is the central thought of these studies we find this concern frequently expressed, often implicit, whether the study is one of occupations, wages, delinquency, or something else. Rather than to give much elaboration of the studies of occupations, wages, and living costs in these largest cities, we call attention to such studies for Atlanta, Dallas, and St. Louis.

Atlanta is an important financial and transportation center, stands relatively high in wages with a large proportion of white-collar workers. Yet, in 1935-1936 one-half of all families had a yearly income of less than \$1,028. Less than 5 percent of the Negro families had annual incomes of \$1,500 or more; 50 percent had less than \$476. Most of the young Negroes of Atlanta do not follow the father's occupation and the trend is toward white-collar jobs (B-2, B-3, B-4).

Though the birth rate is falling there is in Atlanta a comparatively large number of young dependents which adds economic strain for families, for child care facilities, and for schools (B-2).

Do Baltimore's citizens get their money's worth from their heavy yearly investment in the Community Fund? The answer seemed to be that while economies could be affected, an even larger budget was needed (B-8). Birmingham, Alabama, also found in its socio-economic survey that services of huge volume and variety were offered at great cost, that in 1943 there was large reliance on federally financed agencies for meeting problems in an inadequate community program (B-10).

In examining Charlotte's government the investigators point out that here in "this stronghold of Presbyterianism and what is claimed to be the largest church-

going population in the world" for a city of its size, "the social structure is extremely conservative . . . with prejudice against raising the tax rate to provide more social services which would benefit the poorer classes." The study from which the foregoing is quoted was dated 1939 and while Charlotte has moved progressively in some ways since then, as late as 1945-1946 there still was relatively little disposition to invest liberally in social welfare (a much needed auditorium and adequate library, for example) as compared with an easy willingness to invest in material advantages (B-13).

Dallas, a wealthy city, fourth in the country in effective buying power, is also a community of contrasting beauty and ugliness, like so many of our cities. Special attention is called to the array of studies for this city. Here we see characteristic relationships between low economic status and social pathology as revealed in a census tract study. The low economic condition of Negro and Mexican is glimpsed through several studies. For youth of all groups the chance to work for a living determines more than any other one factor the way other problems could be met (B-25).

In the Jacksonville, Florida, study on the prevention of juvenile delinquency, as practically everywhere in the United States, the problem can be seen as one of the degree of willingness to "pay the price of prevention." Among manifold reasons economic factors loom as important: "Inadequate relief funds, no children's case work services, no foster home care, no psychiatric service, inadequate hospital facilities. . . ." About 83 percent of the families of the delinquents were in deep economic difficulty, the Negroes more so than the whites. This last point is in agreement with what Gilmore found in Nashville, that for Negroes the relationship between economic dependency and delinquency is not high except in the most dependent areas. For white areas, dependency and delinquency are more generally associated (B-71). Juvenile delinquency in St. Louis is associated with economic impoverishment, old housing, and high incidence of disease among other complexities (B-88).

The relationship between economics, ethnic factors, and social stratification can only be touched upon. Jewish ghetto-dwelling garment workers of St. Louis "chose" their occupation because it was the one available to Jewish immigrants. Too much of their income is taken by rent; an unusual proportion, as compared with the spending habits of most Americans, goes into reading material, lectures, concerts, and even among the poorest, into charity (B-81). Social status is almost invariably associated with economic factors, income specifically. Negro youth in Washington, D. C., and Louisville, and doubtless in all our large cities, put first among the changes they desire in race relations, an equal chance with whites for jobs. The majority of lower class Negro youth realize how limited are their chances of employment in contrast to the self-confidence of the upper class Negroes who are less dependent upon compromise and propitiation toward the whites (B-92).

POLITICS

The material basis of the community is economic. Politics, education, and all other aspects of community life tie into it. Because of economic waste and in-

efficiency the managerial form of city government came into being over thirty years ago. The first to adopt it were southern cities. Not many of the country's largest cities, as compared with smaller ones, have taken to it. Machine politics are strongly entrenched in most of our larger cities. Any realistic consideration of the city is bound to recognize the connection between economic and political affairs and leadership.

Kansas City, Missouri, is one of the two large cities in our group for which we have something on the city manager form of government. The story of this city is familiar to all well informed persons on recent American city politics. The study here digested makes it perfectly clear that good government comes not by mechanics but by the public will (B-53). "The principles of the charter have never been observed. . . . The chief failures: wasteful expenditures, inefficient service . . . all due primarily to partisan politics." The Civic Research Institute's study from which the foregoing was taken, was made in 1933. In 1938, in what seems to be a rather penetrating study by the Chamber of Commerce, the 10-year plan for public improvement which started about 1930 seemed to be well on the way to its goal. The city manager as a functionary or as a form of government can be a "front" or a reality, depending upon the type and vigor of public opinion (B-53).

About Charlotte as of 1939 we read: "Historical societies abound and seem to command more attention than contemporary citizenship. The League of Women Voters flourished during the period of enthusiasm for City Manager Government but lost out in competition with church auxiliaries and organizations devoted to the past" (B-13).

Dallas receives considerable appraisal of its city manager government. The city busied itself with expansion and let government "just grow" until 1931 when there was a million dollar deficit in the Public Works Department. In that year a city manager was installed due to newspaper and civic association pressure (B-20).

"Politics" had become synonymous with intrigue and patronage. The manager reduced the payroll, held department heads accountable, refused to tolerate incompetence, even held a seminar in public administration. But Manager and Council became unpopular as efficiency cut into business profits and ruled out patronage. A compromise was made with vice (see Religion *infra*) and efficiency by 1935 when a new city manager and council entered the scene. City managers have not abolished politics but patronage has been practically eliminated and services improved at lower cost (B-20).

Police service in cities is costly, political, and a difficult problem from many angles. We shall not develop the subject except to say that no southern city has yet achieved favorable superlatives for the high calibre of its police program or personnel, as compared with certain western and mid-western cities. Southern cities notoriously do not "pay the price" in money or public will. Some of us found this in the 1920's. Swedish investigator Myrdal, prepared as he thought he was for the worst, was surprised beyond his expectations in the 1930's when he studied southern city police at first hand.

Baltimore is one of a few large cities in the South recently to review its police activities as basic to a longterm program of improvement in personnel and equipment. Among the several findings of expert Bruce Smith was this, that the need was not for more police but for a better distribution of them (B-9). The Dallas youth study attributes the excessive amount of petty theft to inadequate police protection (B-25). Big cities need especially to consider the employment and planned distribution of well trained men and women of all ethnic groups in the community. The more progressive cities have recognized this need for some time. An increasing number of southern cities have Negro police. Until police are thought of as social workers, given the training, salary, and respect consonant with professional status, we shall not have in southern cities or anywhere else the preventive and positive emphasis required for economy and efficiency in police service.

EDUCATION

Atlanta, Baltimore, Dallas, Louisville, and Washington, D. C., are in the metropolitan group in which education can be viewed from various angles that are suggestive rather than comprehensive. Among the points of emphasis in education that emerge are the following: differences in amount and kind as between races and nationalities, need for more vocational education, the effect of education in acculturation and assimilation, the question of changed attitudes and viewpoints, and the problem of Negro personality development.

Atlanta needs more education and specific types of training to overcome the lags in the mental patterns of people recently come from rural areas. While Atlantans have more schooling than the rest of Georgia, over 1 percent of the whites and over 7 percent of the Negroes have had less than one year of school. This lack of education limits employability and even vocational training which presupposes basic education. Atlanta's high crime rate is related to illiteracy and poor education (B-2).

In a study of 4,082 Atlanta Negro workers, white-collar and skilled, their average number of years in school was 10.5, while for the white-collar group alone it was 12.2 years. Although Atlanta is noted for its Negro colleges only one-fourth of these workers had gone beyond the secondary level. There is a trend toward more schooling. Prominent present needs are: more basic training, vocational guidance, and specific tie-up between schools and industry (B-4).

The Baltimore survey suggests that some of the objectives of the recreation program imply out-of-school education for well-rounded, socialized living (B-8). It is probably true, though we have no measure of it, that other large cities in the region have considerable informal education through religious, civic, and social groups.

A Dallas study, one of the most valuable in the entire list, sets forth youth needs and services (B-25). Here is a strong argument for more vocational emphasis, more school training in skills, and more guidance. Also more effort could be made to introduce youth to commercial, industrial, and other community agencies by which they could continue their training. The majority of

youth quit school early largely because they are not book-minded or because they cannot afford to continue. Among the Negroes, 90 percent were interested in vocational training. Grade school is completed by 3 in every 5 Negroes: high school, by 1 in 5 (B-25).

Dallas' schools seem to fail more markedly in the development of enlightened public opinion on such questions as labor, race, youth problems, drinking, and war. It was evident that few youth gave these subjects much thought. Race prejudice was deep-seated among the whites. The answers to the questions in the opinion poll "were uninfluenced by years of schooling." Another educational defect is in the health field. The need for health education is indicated by the fact that one-third of the white youth interviewed and one-half of the Negroes had never been to a dentist.

A Dallas study having to do with the mobility of Mexicans shows that in some schools where 95 percent of the children are Mexican, American children refuse to go to school with them. This study indicates that few Mexicans wish to return to Mexico but that there is very little acculturation except through the schools. As for assimilation, still another study reveals that the schools have exerted less influence on Mexicans than on other groups (B-26 to B-27).

One of Washington's school districts presents appalling problems, a complex of mobility, crime, poverty, disease, poor housing, broken homes, and more, all of which the school has to face. How can a school cope with such problems (B-91)? In Washington and Louisville, border cities with many transitional aspects so far as Negroes are concerned, the schools affect the personality development of children in ways not so common to places where clear cut segregation practices prevail. It was found that three factors of school life have a deep effect on the personalities of Negro youth: (1) choosing teachers from the upper class; (2) the preferential treatment of the lighter skinned upper class children; (3) the efficient school program tending to make the Negro more aware of his inferior status.

RELIGION

As with education, what the studies have to offer about religion in the largest cities is more suggestive than complete. Much can be read between the lines. Religion, education, business, and politics revolve together in programs and problems. Some of the studies of Louisville and Dallas give considerable insight into the complexities and perplexities which are to be found in church-community relations, especially in big cities. However, as will be seen later, the problems of the metropolitan centers differ only in degree and variety from those of the smaller cities. We get at least a hint in some of these studies of what Lewis Mumford meant in his *Culture of Cities* by the linkage between Christian piety and capitalist cupidity.

Atlanta in 1935 was surveyed in connection with child welfare services with resultant recommendations for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, a problem for the city before the recent war-torn years. Visiting teachers (nowadays called school social workers) and a child guidance service were advised. Such services

should be "augmented by a special program . . . where public and private agencies, the schools, the churches, and civic organizations, should coordinate their activities in order to overcome environmental conditions in the areas which tend to increase delinquency (B-2).

The Baltimore and the Louisville surveys picture the participation of religious organizations in community chests. Even though considerable welfare and recreational activity is programmed and housed by the churches, the recommendation is offered that more use be made of churches and schools for community gatherings. This seems particularly important in transitional neighborhoods (B-8 and B-60).

In the Louisville survey it is fairly clear that questions surround the problem of child care institutions and services. This city is one of the centers of religious and fraternal institutions for child care, non-chest agencies representing a wide variety of standards. There is evidence that some of the children's organizations make a strong effort to maintain sufficient population to warrant their continued existence. The State as a whole has developed institutional child care far beyond the national average. The numerous institutions, few of which confine their care to children of the particular denomination, carry a considerable community burden. However, the question is raised as to whether religious organizations should participate in the Community Chest since they offer religious service primarily. This point also appears in the study of Durham, North Carolina (B-29), to be discussed later. Among the survey's recommendations are improved adoption practices by private organizations, more boarding care, and better investigation and record keeping. A question develops on the institutional care of children, a practice so dominant in this city and so characteristic of the South. This tradition is challenged by many expert scientific and religious leaders who are convinced, as many northern States have long since been convinced, that the average private home is better for the average child's total development than institutions can be (B-60).

Other questions and suggestions come out of the Louisville survey. Should not colored leadership be utilized in programs provided for colored people by white religious groups? In transitional areas of the city, careful sociological study and planning should be prerequisites before heavy outlay of effort, money, and buildings is made for expanded socio-religious programs (B-60).

Louisville's religious group participation in recreation—the city having been a pioneer in the play movement—was considerable in 1937 (B-58). More youth activities, jointly for boys and girls, are also urged since Louisville seems to overdo the segregation of the sexes (B-60).

From the Birmingham social and economic survey for 1940 it would appear that in volume of service churches play a slight part in leisure time or other social needs. Y.M.C.A. and Y.M.H.A. organizations make some contribution but more for white than for colored people (B-10).

From a Charlotte study, the following quotation has significance: "Fundamentalists have kept Sunday amusements closed though pressure increases for an 'outdoor recreational Sunday.' In spite of stringent regulations by the City

Council, a 'fortress for churchmen,' a high homicide rate with much bootlegging and vice contrast with the religious emphasis" (B-13).

Dallas in the late 1930's was known as a "strong church town" with a liberal policy toward vice. Hub, spokes, and rim of the urban wheel—big or little city—religion, business, and politics in any region go round and round together, whether it be Dallas or New Orleans, western Reno or Butte, or little Kinston, North Carolina. Church groups, including the Pastors' Association, were influential in helping bring about the new charter of 1931 which established the city manager form of government and which they hoped would mean better enforcement of moral regulations. But by 1935 the riffraff and the businessmen found that "their property or interests" were threatened by strict law enforcement. Especially would the Centennial suffer; money-bearing visitors might not come. Dallas churches argue for law enforcement, at least for Dallas citizens, but business interests want profits from visitors through channels of gambling and vice. "Prominent laymen in a Baptist church publicly criticized their pastor for protesting against toleration of peepshows in the Centennial Exposition that would have been considered rough in a red-light district." Lest it be a detrimental advertisement for the Centennial, a deacon objected to a raid on a hotel (B-20).

In a study of "neighboring" in Dallas, it was found that the presence of a best friend is the most important factor, that church attendance within the neighborhood is the least important. It was found, however, that those who attend local churches "neighbor" more than those who attend non-local churches. These latter, in turn, "neighbor" more than those who do not attend church at all (B-23).

Another Dallas study of more than ordinary interest has to do with institutionalized religion in ethnic groups (B-24). Church records were quite inadequate. Few knew their exact membership. Among provocative points that seem to call for further check or testing is the following: "The ethnic church is strongest when the ethnocentric spirit is strongest and weakens as assimilation proceeds. During assimilation the church is a nucleus around which group values center, breaking the shock effect of mobility upon the personalities of individuals. Gradually it changes to become less of an ethnic church." The process here would seem to be from little homogeneous "we-groups" to a large, more cosmopolitan and inclusive grouping of common interests. Missouri Synod Lutherans, as elsewhere, do not easily assimilate, as contrasted with the United Lutherans (B-24). Among Germans of a Catholic Church organized in 1904, as well as in Methodist and Baptist Churches, the trend is away from older culture patterns (B-24).

Orthodox Jews have nearly as much strength as the Reform group which believes that culture should be adapted to the community. The Reform group's religious program has taken over many features of urban Gentile churches. Both Jewish groups have trouble holding youth though their teachers are paid and have higher standards than any other church group in the city. Synagogue programs and benevolences are impressive though only half of the city's Jews

are members of a congregation. "Race" is stronger than religion; the dominant influence is now social rather than religious. They cooperate in upholding their status in the community and have pride in civic participation. Some leaders in charitable activities are not affiliated with any religious group. Contributions by Jews to the Community Chest is 15 percent of the total though they constitute only 3 percent of the population. This interest in charity is noted also in the study of St. Louis garment workers (B-24, B-74, B-81).

Dallas's Mexicans, with Indian-tinged Catholicism, have less background than Germans or Jews for religious-community participation. They "go where the most is done for them." Catholic influence seems to be diminishing among them. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, in that order, are the strongest proselyting groups. The Mexican, however, goes back to the Catholic church for ceremonials. The church has not helped in assimilation because contacts are only with his own race.

The Negro of Dallas comes almost exclusively from a rural background. Church and lodge are his main social groups. On his arrival he prefers a small, informal church but in the struggle for status he adopts the more formal, ritualistic attitudes and patterns of city life, and this is true whatever the denomination (B-24).

The churches of Dallas do not seem to be strongly influencing the youth. General lack of interest is the reason most often given. Girls have more interest than boys; Negroes more than white; single more than married. Few white youth of 7th grade schooling or less are in the churches, showing a potential educational role for churches that is not being utilized, particularly as the weakest spot in school training is in the formation of public opinion on social problems. Negro youth attend church somewhat more frequently than do the white youth. A thought may be ventured as to why young people attend church anyway. Whether we can boldly say as this study does that "attendance at services was not solely for spiritual reasons," we can suspect that this is not far from the truth. For that matter, why do older people attend church? Is it for prestige possibly, or business, or something else? The Greenbelt, Maryland, and Natchez, Mississippi studies point to an answer. As for young people the church can be, ought to be, and is here and there, according to testimony, a place for meeting, mingling, matching, and marrying.

The community survey of social and health work in Kansas City suggests that churches have overdone recreation facilities with not enough attention to the transitional character of city neighborhoods. Also a lack of coordination in church-sponsored recreation could be corrected through a coordinated community-wide recreation program more emphatic of democratic participation, and where the churches would be represented on a recreational council. Here again the question is raised in the interests of flexibility, avoidance of duplication and overlapping, whether it is sound policy to allocate community funds separately to Catholics, Protestants, and Jews (B-52).

In Nashville as in Kansas City, a study of community welfare planning reveals lack of coordination and adaptation generally. The church is mentioned

only once but significantly: "Recreation service-stations scattered all over the city in schools, churches, and settlements, are needed." Whether the danger of "overdoing" recreation in the church program would result, might depend upon the definition and types of recreation emphasized by religious groups. Among the results of this community self-diagnosis were the establishment of a neighborhood house by a Presbyterian Church and an orphanage displaced for a foster home care program (B-67).

In the study of Nashville's Negro boys it was found that after age 17 their religious participation is very slight. Younger boys do better. There is a complexity of factors other than age that bears upon variation in attendance. "Churches have been altogether too slow in making use of young peoples' clubs or special groups in their programs . . ." (B-70).

From *Negro Youth at the Crossways*,¹ a study of the caste system on personality development of youth in Washington and Louisville, we quote: "God is 'white.' The other-worldly outlook of the church ignores the problems of status, and in ecstatic religious experience gives the lower classes outlet for pent-up emotion. Negro youth in cities tend to be critical of the church but when an effort is made to understand their outlook and problems, the response is favorable" (B-92).

HEALTH AND WELFARE

In Chapter 4, especially in Tables 6 to 12, we have assembled a few fragments of the available data on health and welfare. These we have directed rather deliberately toward that which is fundamental to family welfare, toward children and youth in tomorrow's world. Any discussion of health is bound to include not only the consideration of specific diseases but also problems stemming out of correctible economic conditions.

General birth and death rates reflect such conditions, but a prime indicator of the cultural level of any people is infant mortality. By examining Table 8 (p. 67) one can note that the largest cities have a slightly more favorable infant mortality rate. Still another basic index would be housing, the extent of overcrowding, and what the community, region, and Nation do about this problem. Does anyone doubt the close relationship between housing and general family welfare, specifically the very life chances of children? In Chapter 4 we try to show how the large cities compare with smaller ones in birth, death, and mortality rates. Table 12 (p. 72), centering on housing, offers a few facts for some of our largest southern cities, facts that can serve as a background for our brief discussion of housing later in this chapter.

In the few paragraphs that follow in this section—the reader keeping in mind that we are dealing with the largest cities—there will be mention of such related problems as high birth rates, low economic status, and various aspects of physical and social pathology. Child placement, foster home care and adop-

1. E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways*. Their Personality Development in the Middle States (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940).

tion procedures, and the rôle of institutions are given passing emphasis in the paragraphs on Kansas City and Louisville.

Some of the relationships mentioned above are stressed in a study of Dallas (B-21). Here a high Negro mortality, chiefly among infants, is mentioned. It is pointed out that public health expenditures (38c per person in 1937) are far below the average, that there is no school health program beyond a cursory examination, that wider dispersal of health efforts is needed (B-25). The several studies of Dallas, including the one on Mexican mobility, show high rates of infant mortality, tuberculosis, intestinal diseases, and overcrowding (B-21 and B-26). Our Tables 9 and 12 show the situation in Dallas leaving much to be desired.

The Kansas City survey of social and health work reveals the main problem as relief with effective case work the chief need. For children, more foster home care and more selective use of institutions are indicated. Too many children are in institutions. Private funds, mostly from churches, carry too much of the burden. Religious institutional care is out of proportion to the population: nearly one-half of the institutionalized children are in Catholic institutions with only 12 percent of the population enumerated as Catholic. Children's problems are not solved by merely passing the children on from one institution to another. A clear-cut adoption policy is needed (B-52).

Louisville, among the 14 largest cities in our list, has an infant death rate exceeded only by Nashville, Miami, Dallas, New Orleans, and Birmingham. It is 25 percent above the average for the country as a whole in the relative number of children receiving institutional care. In general, Louisville's problems are relatively great for its size. As of 1939 the city had 6 public social and health administrative units but private agencies totaled 71, one-half of them non-Chest organizations. Of these, three-fourths are operated under the auspices of church groups. Louisville is a center for religious and fraternal child care. Adoptive practices in private agencies are often substandard. These agencies should give more careful study to potential adoptive homes and both the maternal and paternal background of children accepted for adoption. It is also urged that infants and children of pre-school years should not be cared for in any institution, except on a temporary basis, because of physical and emotional needs and the effect on mental development (B-60).

The Nashville study of welfare planning gives health, needs of dependent children, and recreation as leading recommendations (B-67). As the percentage of Negro population increases, dependency, natural increase of population, and infant mortality are increased. The author of this study states that to get a true understanding of the disorganization in a southern city, it is necessary to consider white and Negro culture groups separately. Louisville and Nashville have about the same infant mortality rate but Louisville has only 14.8 percent Negroes as compared with Nashville's 28.3 percent. Among Louisville whites, births are lower in areas of least dependency. This differential rate of birth is commonly true as already stated. Negroes do not show the extremes of social disorganization that are found among whites. For Negroes

dependency is chronic. As demonstrated again and again for larger American cities, social disorganization is greatest in the neighborhoods of the downtown transitional areas (B-71).

In St. Louis the study of mental disorders reveals that, while the results are not finally conclusive, an areal pattern which corresponds to social pathology in general is found for psychotics. Paresis shows central concentration, manic-depressive cases are city-wide, and schizophrenia is distributed only roughly according to the ecological pattern of social pathology (B-82).

RECREATION

In recreation Atlanta has a "fundamental problem in the lack of opportunities for informal education and recreation." In a study of 16 agencies, 6 reported that their program was essentially religious, 8 that it was recreational, and 2 that the program was informal education (B-2).

In Baltimore, participants and private donors pay more for recreation than does the Municipal Department (budget approximately \$200,000 in 1940) which operates parks and playgrounds with emphasis on sports and physical development. Private agencies such as youth centers and neighborhood centers stress character-building and creative activities pointing toward socialized objectives. Recommendations include more services for Negroes in both public and private channels; more recreation for family groups, old people, and institutional inmates; more camping, especially for Negroes; more facilities and leadership for housing projects. Cooperative rather than competitive activities are emphasized (B-8).

Birmingham's study states that the need for recreation is one of four basic problems. Here city-wide substandard housing is seen as related to all basic problems (B-10).

As footnoted for Charlotte, in 1946 that city went more definitely than ever before into recreation, a program supported by a 2-mill tax (B-13).

The recreation program for Dallas "is only 65 percent adequate," even though the centers are in the areas of greatest need and the leaders are trained. The greatest emphasis is on the white in-school group which needs it least. There are too few parks for Negroes; too few types of interest-sustaining recreation for low income groups. Movies, dancing, card playing, and loafing are dominant diversions (B-25).

For Kansas City we have already touched upon the church participation in recreation. That city's recreation activities would seem to need re-planning with emphasis on inter-institutional and community coordination (B-52).

Louisville, pioneer city in the playground movement, has not wholly kept pace with recreation though there are centers, playgrounds, and other institutional programs. Since 1900 recreation has grown until now it is a Division under the Welfare Department, the city supplying parks and equipment, the Division providing the leadership and program. The conferences and activities in recreation in Louisville represent many groups including the churches (B-58).

In a Louisville housing project, neighborhood spirit was promoted by recreation though most of the tenants continued their former membership in social and church groups. About one-half of the tenants participated. Class distinctions and lack of leadership were a hindrance (B-59). Louisville's prime recreation need is better trained leadership. More than half (55 percent) of the recreation groups are led by volunteers. Recreational leadership today demands expertness which comes through training; untrained volunteers can be only of supplemental value in most situations. Groups must not be too large. Until better use is made of present facilities further building is not advised. More activities are urged for boys and girls together. All through this survey there is repeated emphasis on the need for co-educational, co-recreational, and generally co-operative action (B-60).

St. Louis is found with too little space in park area and with elementary schools deficient in playground space (B-87). Jewish garment workers in St. Louis put an unusual proportion of their income, however small, into recreational channels: reading, music, lectures, and as pointed out above, into charity (B-81).

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Upstream infections in community conditions, produced and nourished by still higher national-international economic and political forces, are really responsible for the great mass of downstream crime that spreads out into the headlines. All our institutions are more or less directly affected by such criminogenic forces and factors. This is especially true where it can be said: "The city is known as 'a strong church town' with a liberal policy toward vice." This quotation fits so many of our cities, large and small, that no one who studies the crime problem seriously has any hesitancy in stating that it is among the two or three deeply pervasive problems of our civilization. In general: economics, politics, and community attitudes flowing from them; in specifics: health, housing, and neighborhood conditions—all tie into the evolving and revolving situations that make for delinquency. It has become practically a sociological law for all large cities with ethnic variations that there is from decade to decade a persisting pattern of delinquency in central areas whether the people be native or foreign born, whether their skin color be white or black. Exploiters and exploited, low social ethics and high rental profits, impoverishment and delinquency—it is not hard to see how and for whom all these fit together.

With regard to delinquency in Dallas, only a few references in the several studies touch on this. Overcrowded housing is associated with a high incidence of juvenile delinquency (B-21). In the special study on youth needs and services, it is pointed out that murder and petty theft are the outstanding offenses, that 75 percent of the murder was committed by Negroes on Negroes, and that the high percentage of petty theft is probably partly due to inadequate police work (B-25). The Mexicans are mentioned as peaceful in behavior with seldom any charge brought against them (B-26).

The two studies for Houston, Texas, center on such questions as the following: Where do the delinquents live? Are they concentrated in certain sections? If so, are there other characteristics which differentiate these delinquency areas from other sections of the city? The delinquent in Houston, as elsewhere, is a product of our social life. Delinquency will be diminished when the community fully realizes that every child has the right to a healthy body, a sound mind, and an undamaged personality (B-47). The second study stresses police work. It urges training of police in handling children and suggests that the police make use of other agencies and resources of the community. A reciprocal working relationship is needed between social agencies and the police. The head of the Crime Prevention Division should have social work training and experience in supervising a staff skilled in handling behavior problems (B-48).

Jacksonville is also studied in terms of delinquency prevention. In this city the problems back of delinquency are the same for both races but there are more Negro delinquents proportionately. The associations or correlations so commonly found between delinquency and other adverse features of the community are found here also: discordant and broken homes; over 25 percent of parents had desertion records; almost 50 percent of families had history of crime; most of the families had been known to social agencies for several years before the delinquent's first Court experience, but most of these families had already reached serious disintegration before agency contact. If in two-thirds of the cases there was faulty diagnosis in the first year of contact, if there was insufficient attention paid to children, in what direction should the reasons be sought? Here they seem to be: inadequate relief funds, no children's case work services, no foster home care, no psychiatric service, shortage of hospital facilities, and insufficient recreation. While the Juvenile Court did some good child welfare service it had some weaknesses including the political appointment of probation officers. Also there were poor detention provisions, not enough use of probation, and failure of the probation staff to use community agencies (B-51).

In Louisville's recreation study of 1938, maps show the location of public and private recreation facilities and delinquency areas. Two of the six overcrowded, vice-ridden districts have over 5,000 children especially lacking in play space and recreational facilities (B-58).

The Nashville study of juvenile delinquency as of 1936 stresses comparisons. The findings agreed with earlier local and Children's Bureau studies except that in Nashville more delinquents were placed on probation or in institutions than formerly. Also since the early 1920's an increasing number of cases have been dealt with out of court. Stealing was the dominant offense, more boys than girls, more Negroes than whites thus delinquent. There was no observable seasonable variation (B-69).

St. Louis, as of 1937, affords another special study of delinquency and associated factors. This shows the distribution of juvenile court cases. As sociologically expected, there is a marked concentration in downtown areas, a persisting pattern in spite of successive ethnic groupings. The complexity of the factors

involved in juvenile delinquency shows that neighborhood disorganization reflects the larger cultural and social processes embracing the conflict and social dislocation incident to urban expansion and segregation of elements in the population (B-88).

MOBILITY

Mobility, as here used, refers primarily to the moving of individuals or groups from place to place for occupancy or settlement as contrasted with fluidity or diurnal back-and-forth movement so characteristic of urban job-and-pleasure travel. Another meaning of mobility is social. In fact, the term "social mobility" is often used to indicate changes in social stratification, the socio-occupational ladder, a vertical movement involving change in status. Economic and educational opportunities, political rights and wrongs, and the housing situation are among the many national, regional, and community conditions that affect type, degree, and direction of mobility.

For Atlanta which has received much migration from rural areas (spatial mobility), one of the two studies deals with the occupational mobility of Negro fathers and sons. In a random sample of 1,000 cases, three-fourths of the sons did not follow the father's occupation but went into or toward jobs that ranked higher in the socio-economic scale. The other one-fourth followed their fathers' general type of work. The second study of 4,082 Negroes shows more than half of them as urban born, particularly in the white-collar group (B-3, B-4).

A Dallas study traces the trends of mobility in three Mexican colonies. In the oldest of these there is much mobility within the colony from which there is movement to the next and most stable colony where second generation Mexicans are found. The third colony represents those able to buy homes. Mobility is caused by seasonal jobs, inability to pay rents, desire for lower rents, and to be nearer the job (B-26).

St. Louis' youth have shown marked rural-urban migration from 1900 to 1930. Though in-migration has slowed down the decrease in the relative numbers of youth in St. Louis, it has not reversed the population trend (B-83). Another study for this city reveals that physical as well as human factors stimulate mobility from one census tract to another. Dumps, dirt, smoke, odors, and noises from industries along with undesirable "foreigners" are among such factors. Stability of residence is accounted for by home ownership, neighborhood pride, few flats, and acculturated or assimilated foreigners.

RACE

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, race enters every phase of southern life. In the largest of the deep southern cities the Negro population is from 30 to 40 percent, the border State cities showing a somewhat smaller percentage. There are reasons for believing that the larger cities may be more progressive in race relations than is true of the smaller places. This hypothesis has not been tested, however. The re-election of Eugene Talmadge as Governor of Georgia in July 1946 was mainly due to the rural areas. It seems to be in the

larger cities that the forces converge for upbuilding programs as interracial councils, civic unity committees, and other cooperative efforts in race relations. In contrast to this we are not sure how far the following incident typifies the smaller city, the town, and rural areas (B-18). The day after Georgia's re-election of Talmadge, a traveller had this conversation in Thomasville, Georgia, a city of 12,683 people evenly divided in numbers between white and colored:

Traveller: "What all you folks doin' here in politics?"

Filling station proprietor: "Wall, I tell ya, mister. Me and my wife went to the votin' place all set to vote for Carmichael. But mister, what d'y suppose we saw when we got there? A long line o' niggers. Right then and there me and my wife decided ole Gene'd better go back in."

It is incontrovertible that the low rank of southern cities in such studies as Thorndike's are due largely to the presence of Negroes who have been underprivileged for generations in provisions for health, economics, politics, education, religion, and housing. The general features of race relations—the affinity between attitudes and actions, belief and behavior—are well known. The quest for respect, for status, with all they mean for economic and psychic security, is ever present.

An occupational study of Negro maids and their employers in Dallas can be summed up in commonplace terms as follows: Most of the maids liked their employers and were uncritical of low pay and hard work; employers liked to have maids "stay in their place" and be loyal and dependable (B-22).

In Washington and Louisville, as youth are presented in Franklin Frazier's *Negro Youth at the Crossways*, social life is dominated by the American custom of raising one's status, especially among the middle class. While in the lower class, Negro parents try to pass on their attitudes of servility, the children tend to revolt or at least to have latent hostility toward whites. Middle-class Negroes want to appear respectable to whites and to teach their children so. Upper-class people try to shield children from discrimination.

HOUSING

Convinced that the housing problem is critically fundamental, meriting zealous interest and action by all people concerned about the preservation of Christian democracy, we would give even more emphasis to the subject than we have already done in the preceding chapter.

To recapitulate the details of the studies made in housing seems hardly necessary. Our largest southern cities suffer by comparison with cities elsewhere. The studies of Dallas, Louisville, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Washington all contain familiar facts about housing conditions. Between these big cities and the smaller ones there is very little difference except in sheer quantity of blight and slum. Conditions of decay and overcrowding spell out the same sorry facts: high rates of disease, delinquency, and death for children and adults. Negroes, foreigners, and the poor generally get the worst of it as others get the best. For whom are such conditions "income" and what is the percentage on investment?

Those extraordinary low scores of southern cities with large proportions of

Negro people are nowhere more clearly seen than in connection with housing in Memphis, Tennessee, briefly described here rather than in Appendix B.² A study made by the Department of Public Health in 1934 separates the figures for white and Negro for a few aspects of housing:

	Percent	
	White	Negro
Dilapidated condition of dwellings, whole city.....	2.0	14.0
Dilapidated condition of dwellings, slum.....	26.0	63.0
Live in rented units.....	58.7	77.2
Less than \$3.00 weekly rental.....	21.0	94.0
Rear or alley dwellings.....	1.0	21.0
Inside toilets	86.0	20.0
Communal or pit toilets.....	11.0	70.0
Hydrant water supply.....	4.5	63.0

In 1937, before the United States Housing Authority got into momentum and as a result of this Public Health Study, two Federal Housing Projects were providing homes for 1,183 families. However, according to PWA and the Mayor's Housing Committee surveys, only about 60 percent of Memphis' citizens could afford what was in 1937 the basic \$13.50 rental. The conclusion seems to be that Memphis must either resort to subsidized housing for about 40 percent of its population or pay the price in high rates of sickness, accidents, premature deaths, delinquency, and unpaid taxes.

We have not ascertained what Memphis has done since these middle years of the 1930's. As of 1940 the city had 292,942 total population of which 41.5 percent was Negro. Nationally it is in the bottom 5 percent in the condition of its housing as represented by a need for major repairs (54.5 percent) and by overcrowding (15.8 percent). It would seem that by 1940 the city had not distinguished itself with respect to housing.

Sufficient time has not elapsed to evaluate fully the United States Housing Authority's program of the late 1930's (Act of 1937) in such cities as Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans. Every indication at present is that as a result of slum clearance and low cost housing projects, human welfare in these cities has been advanced beyond expectations and that real estate interests have suffered not at all. The Louisville study of a Negro public housing project built in 1937 reveals numerous positive effects on the group life of the residents (B-59).

Housing ties in concretely with much of the virtuous and vicious in our culture. As a big city problem especially, it calls for the best that people of good will have to give in terms of reconstruction. This means reconstruction of thinking as well as action. We suffer greatly from a termite type of thinking and action that threatens the very foundations of democracy. Real estate interests are among those that must yield to democratic realism in cities big and little. At this writing the news carries no evidence that real democracy is winning the battle in lobby corridors and legislative halls with *respect* to housing for the low income third of our people.

2. L. M. Graves and A. H. Fletcher, "Developing a Housing Program in a Southern City," *American Journal of Public Health*, 27 (July 1937), pp. 645-54.

Chapter 6

THE SOUTH'S MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES

THE dozen medium-sized cities discussed in this chapter have populations between 25,000 and 100,000 and represent nine different States. They are similar in size and are more uniform in productive function than are the larger cities. Half of them are located on the fall-line arc of the industrial piedmont of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, noted for textile and tobacco manufacturing. The largest city both as to its central population and its metropolitan district is Little Rock, Arkansas, 88,039 in the central city, 38,685 outside the central city, totaling 126,724 people in 1940. The smallest city in the group is West Palm Beach, Florida, with 33,693 people. As with the large cities, several in this medium-sized group are educational centers. Austin, Texas, Durham and Greensboro in North Carolina, and Greenville, South Carolina, are the cities for which we were able to find more than one title.

ECONOMICS

In the Durham study of a deteriorated area economic factors are implicit in slum conditions. (The section on "Families and Dwellings" in Chapter 4 and the discussion of juvenile delinquency and housing later in the present chapter are indicative of economic conditions.) (B-29). Durham is widely known for its strong banking and insurance business among Negroes. Here vision, courage, and educational progress tie into economics. The Negro leaders are few in number so that their names appear repeatedly as trustees and officials. In contrast with this economically advantaged group of Negro business and professional leadership, there are the usual lower economic strata of factory workers, domestic servants, and common laborers (B-30).

Of the population of Greenville, 40.3 percent is Negro, a figure surpassed by few cities in the South. Two of the four titles on this city have to do with Negroes and their economic situation. The heavy financial burden on wage earners is shown by the fact that about half the Negroes are under 21 years of age. In 1930, 80 percent of them over 15 years of age were employed, one-third of these in domestic service. Greenville has no such Negro leadership as is found in Durham. The few professional Negroes are teachers who in 1939, received about half as much salary as was paid to white teachers. Two-thirds of Greenville's Negro families who rent their homes pay more than 30 percent of their \$43 per month income (as of 1938) for rent. Economically what the Negro wants can be summed up as follows: equal pay, equal purchasing power, and better occupational opportunities (B-43 to B-44).

Little Rock Negroes, 25.1 percent of the total population, present a picture very similar to that of Greenville: 2 or 3 employed workers per family; average pre-war pay for domestic workers, \$3.74 weekly; only 1.7 percent of the Negroes

are in business. The business of Negroes is hindered not only by lack of capital, credit, training, and experience but also because of insufficient support and cooperation among themselves for their own welfare. As in Greenville, Negro teachers average little more than half the salary paid the whites. "Negro labor is unorganized largely because of lack of leadership and a tradition of 'getting in' with employers as being the only way to succeed." How far does fear enter the situation where leadership and organization are lacking? (B-57)

Mobile, Alabama, the only significant port city in this group, is also a trade center and industrial city. Its importance as a war industry city accounts for its tremendous growth since 1940. It has a fairly well balanced occupational structure with primary emphasis on transportation and secondary emphasis on manufacturing (B-65).

For the four cities with planned parenthood clinics the occupational distribution of the 1,056 women shows them as predominantly housewives (92.8 percent) and equally divided as between urban and rural residence. Of the total 674 white women and 382 Negro women the percentages of attendance at the clinics from the poverty level were 22.5 and 40.0 respectively (B-76).

POLITICS

Austin's city manager plan, advised by University faculty members and brought about by businessmen, has increased the services, power, and prestige of city government. Skeptical middle-class groups, formerly in political power, were converted by the increase of their political power on a different plane (B-6).

City government in Lynchburg, Virginia, had been in the hands of upper class families whose leadership was accepted by the rank and file, many of whom are disfranchised by the poll tax. In 1920 city manager government came in to untangle the "ridiculously intricate" political situation and to expand public works. Recently there has been more room for a few "ordinary citizens" from the middle and working-class neighborhoods on the Council. Manager and Council continue a responsible and harmonious government though financial methods are still inefficient, thanks to State law and the vested interests of officials (B-61).

Greenville, as of the late 1930's, was having inner conflicts over Negroes registering to vote. In the elections of 1939 the Ku Klux Klan became so oppressive that the Federal Government took a hand. In one municipal election only 34 Negroes voted out of 250 qualified to do so. The right to vote, the appointment of Negro police, and justice in the courts are among the hopes and aims of Greenville Negroes (B-44). (cf. also B-11, B-49, B-50.)

Little Rock's survey of Negroes as of 1941 states that there are no Negro police for Negro neighborhoods (B-57). Perhaps at this writing Little Rock has joined the lengthening list of southern cities disposed to be reasonably progressive in this matter. Until perfunctoriness about dealing with Negro offenses against Negroes is displaced by due and just action, whether the community be Little Rock or Greenville, no community can consider itself reasonably progressive (B-11).

EDUCATION

The Durham study of 1930 may not reflect the educational aspects of the 1940's in that city but as late as 1941 there was still need for better vocational training and for ungraded opportunity classes in the public school system. If this need were met there would probably be less truancy (B-30, B-31). Also the need is suggested for parental education through classes sponsored by churches, schools, and social agencies. An adequately staffed social-work program within the schools is recommended to handle attendance problems and to develop group work in such subjects as music, dramatics, crafts, athletics—distinct from leisure-time programs that emphasize activities rather than group experience (B-29). In the pattern of Durham's female migration it was found that domestic workers as a group did not have as low educational status as the manufacturing workers (B-32).

The several titles on Greenville all have to do with educational interaction between college and community and between city and county. They emphasize leadership and the utilization of resources. The penetrating educational approach and the facing up to facts are likely to be "dangerous" for those so engaged if social traditions are threatened by the possibility of rapidly-paced change (B-41 to B-42).

Greenville's Negroes offer something of a contrasting picture educationally to that of Dallas, Texas, especially with regard to vocational training (B-25). Greenville's high school Negro youth seem to have more white-collar aspirations. The picture is generally similar to that in most cities of the deep South: inequitable expenditures per school child, for teachers' salaries, and for textbooks as between Negroes and whites. Naturally Negroes who express themselves at all constructively put high on their list of desired changes, equal educational opportunities for their children (B-44).

Our one study of Mobile points out that while elementary schools are scattered throughout the city the one high school for whites is badly crowded and out of convenient reach for industrial families. "Another high school is needed in the industrial suburbs" (B-65).

RELIGION

Decentralization of population over a 40-year period in Augusta, Georgia, has affected three Catholic churches, the parishes of the two downtown churches decreasing 45 to 60 percent whereas the suburban parish increased more than twentyfold (B-5).

Durham, like Charlotte and Dallas, is a "church-going community" (B-28). A survey of a slum area counts a Baptist and a Methodist church, both fully equipped, and two other small congregations that are poorly equipped. There are also a few groups meeting in chapels, halls, and homes. The Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Salvation Army are among the religious influences. The Salvation Army's type of religious expression seems more congenial to this neighborhood than that of the churches. Its recreational work is tied in with religious

training. The dilemma of church-connected social work is discussed, that is, shall social work techniques or religious motivation predominate? Neither can be disregarded. Catholic and Jewish groups are finding the answer in professional training at the graduate level and this trend is being fostered by leading Protestant denominations. The study found cases where both Public Welfare and Salvation Army had violated principles of allocation of services. Some church members blamed the Salvation Army for religious proselyting through the use of Community Fund resources in the administration of relief. The study advised private agencies not to try to meet chronic relief needs and asked that adequate relief funds be routed through county channels. The author of this study recognizes the value of extra-religious programs but states that they have no claim on the public purse (B-29).

The Greensboro recreation study reports considerable cooperation between churches and recreation commission. "Churches have fostered an attitude of good will toward recreation" (B-39). In Austin the churches have formed athletic leagues (B-6).

Greenville's religious groups are seen as traditionalist and conservative. "Community cooperation was largely blocked by traditionalist attitudes about race and religion. . . . The church has its place of usefulness but is usually hampered by denominational jealousies, overloaded preachers, and lack of training in educational processes" (B-42). Well over half of the Negroes are Baptists, the remainder belonging to the Methodist and Holiness groups (B-44).

High Point, North Carolina—like Charlotte, Dallas, and Durham—is a churchgoing town, maintaining that "in proportion to its population it is the second greatest churchgoing city in the South." In 1933 there were 39 white churches, 24 for Negroes, in 16 denominations, as well as one Catholic and one Jewish fellowship. Church buildings are expensive and heavily in debt. Membership in youth organizations is small. Women's interests are mainly in money raising for missions and other church finances. The main types of religious thought are classified as orthodox, liberal, and fervid. Ministerial neutrality on the labor problem induced this from a labor leader: "Ministers are nice chaps but I don't depend on them for any help." Religion in many churches has rural characteristics, since this and similar cities receive large numbers of migrants from the surroundings rural areas. This study is so largely emphatic of religious conditions and trends of interest to a Y.W.C.A. researcher, that attention is especially pointed to the digest as a whole (B-46).

Among the Little Rock Negroes, "the church is the most important form of group expression; consolidation would permit employment of more competent pastors. The church should become more articulate concerning problems that affect the social well-being of the people" (B-57).

The Raleigh, North Carolina, recreation study mentions that some leadership and equipment was provided to churches and other religious groups and closes with questions for the churches about providing recreation for their own people and about supporting public recreation (B-78).

Four North Carolina cities whose planned parenthood services were studied in 1945-6 list no referrals as coming through religious channels. The author of the study found only one minister who had any active interest in the birth control aspect of the maternal and child health program (B-76).

HEALTH AND WELFARE¹

The Durham study of 1930 generalizes on the higher death rate for Negroes than for whites especially in infancy and early adolescence. For North Carolina cities in this class, those from 25,000 to 100,000 population, in 1930 the infant mortality for whites was 73.0 per 1,000 live births and 141.2 for Negroes. While we do not know the specific figures for Durham in 1930 there can be no doubt but that Durham now presents a much improved condition. Infant mortality for Durham's whites in 1940 was 34.5 per 1,000 live births and 75.5 for Negroes. A survey of welfare problems and agencies made in 1941 says that Negroes should have more social services (B-28, B-30).

Greenville's Negroes in 1940 had no proper hospital provisions in view of their proportion of the population. For each hospital bed in Greenville County there were 646 potential Negro patients. The author adds the comment that when a Negro doctor's patient goes to a white hospital, he must abandon the case (B-44).

In the Little Rock study of Negroes the observation is made that their death rate is higher than that for whites, that the Negro population is not maintaining itself numerically. This is not surprising. The fact is that, according to 1940 census figures, for most of the cities in Arkansas the death rate per 1,000 for "all other races" (largely Negroes) exceeds the birth rate. For no city in Arkansas is this true for the whites whose birth rate exceeds the death rate. We would point to our reference to underregistration of births in Chapter 4, where Arkansas is included as one of the States in which less than 90 percent of the births are registered. Regarding welfare, the author points out that social agencies do not reach many Negroes, young working girls, for example (B-57).

Lynchburg had one of the first Health Departments in the South and was the first to employ a nurse for tuberculosis. There is a Division of Social Service under the Health Department which directs a home for aged people and a city hospital (B-61).

Meridian, Mississippi, like Little Rock, is mentioned as having high birth and death rates. It is one of three cities above 10,000 in population in Mississippi—and there is a total of 12 such cities—where the death rate exceeds the birth rate among Negroes. (The other two cities are Natchez and Vicksburg.) In no city of the 12 does the white death rate exceed the birth rate. The author states what is generally true for cities anywhere that births, deaths, and relief cases are more numerous in blighted areas and slums than elsewhere (B-62).

1. In connection with health and welfare, we call attention again to Chapter 4, especially Tables 6-12, and to the introductory paragraphs in the section on this topic in Chapter 5.

Four unnamed cities in North Carolina have planned parenthood services in their Health Departments. These clinics, already mentioned in connection with our discussion of Economics and Religion, are designed to reduce infant and maternal mortality, to decrease births in dependent families, and to increase births where there is promise of healthy, happy childhood and family life. One clinic treats whites only although there is no comparable Negro clinic in that city. Two clinics are non-segregated and in one of these a very capable Negro nurse gives instructions to both whites and Negroes. The fourth clinic is segregated, different days and buildings being used (B-76).

RECREATION

Austin's recreational provisions are unusual. The recreation department before 1940 had developed a park for Mexicans exclusively. Another park for Negroes had a Negro director with a Negro advisory committee. The 13 playgrounds had the advice of a mothers' club. Civic clubs had a hand in promoting pageants, drama, and dancing. The library is guided officially by a 15-man committee of leaders aided by a citizens' committee to develop specific activities. Community centers are focal points for neighborhood life. Here then are segregation and community-wide participation to an unusual degree (B-6).

Durham is known to have had a long and rather progressive interest in recreation. The study of a deteriorated area is merely fragmentary of the total situation. When operated by the same agency, recreational and religious functions are hard to separate. In the Salvation Army separate entrances and rooms were used for religious and for secular activities. The study advised the release of the recreational director from religious leadership since the social and athletic activities made a full-time job. Salvation Army leaders were found to have less training than others (B-29).

The Greensboro recreation study recommends greater playground acreage, more financial provision, and more community interest and participation. Men far outnumber women in interest. The program seems to overemphasize games, sports, and athletics and to be deficient in social activities such as music, dramatics, and crafts. It is our conviction that a decided swing of emphasis is needed away from the heavy, big-muscle ideology of recreation into the creative and esthetic activities, and into the continuous, cooperative, relationship-centered pursuits. Such would be in contrast to the temporary, competitive-individualistic type of recreation which has been, and still is, so dominant. Lately there seems to have been trends in the former direction. It is also our conviction that the church can do much more to encourage this trend toward balance than it commonly does (B-39).

Mobile's few small parks are mere garden spots. Water-front space is scarce. The city needs a large park and otherwise seems to need recreational planning and provisions, as well as to keep up in other fields such as Education and Housing. A fast growing city tends to awaken too late to planning for human needs even while it is immensely concerned over freight rates and detailed aspects of industrial planning. For some cities such as Mobile and Natchez, floral gar-

dens command more zealous attention than do the infant mortality rates, the housing conditions, the recreational provisions, and the presence or absence of nursery schools and kindergartens (B-65).

In the Raleigh recreation study leadership is emphasized as being more important than facilities; schools should be used as community or neighborhood centers; a citywide survey should be made to prepare a long-term recreation plan and to set aside potential recreation areas. In harmony with what we have said above about cooperative, relationship-centered activities, it is noteworthy that according to children's preferences—what they want to do rather than what they usually do—more attention should be given at all ages to outings, camping, and music. In the original study, a large percentage of boys and girls showed eagerness for group music, both vocal and instrumental. A boy might want to "blow a horn" so that he could "play in a band." Girls leaned markedly toward glee club work (B-78).

West Palm Beach gears recreation to tourists' interests. It has beautiful parks but needs twice as many playgrounds for children. The city has a heavy bonded indebtedness; recreation has to be paid for; fees are charged for play and even for reading. "The public library is inadequately financed and has prohibitive rental and membership fees." The high school boasts of its band and athletics but has no general physical education program. Social fraternities in high school have undue emphasis. Commercial and private recreation abounds. More cooperation is needed between the Recreation Commission and the School Board. The community needs an understanding of recreation (B-93).

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Offenses in the medium-sized city are patterned very much as they are in the metropolitan centers. The picture is too familiar to call for much detailing here. Whether it be 1930 or 1940 in Durham or in Greensboro, the conditions and interrelationships are similar: transitional areas of low rents, housing blight, and slums disproportionately produce those who appear in court and get institutionalized. Greensboro names the spokes in the wheel of pathology that rolls to social breakdown, as they are working on it in that city: adult crime, juvenile delinquency, divorce, child neglect, mental disease, mental deficiency, and illegitimacy. The data are separated as between white and Negro. A list of 22 offenses shows, in toto for both races, drunkenness as definitely leading with assault in second place. This is particularly true for whites. For Negroes, assault and liquor violations are closely tied for first place with larceny coming third (B-30, B-31, B-40).

The surveyors of Little Rock say that delinquency is complicated by the lack of strong character-building agencies such as recreation centers, boys' organizations, etc. Crime is out of proportion to the population, usually in such offenses as petty gambling, drunkenness, disturbing the peace, and disorderly conduct. "There are no Negro police for Negro neighborhoods. Punishment of Negro offenses against Negroes has become somewhat perfunctory. More adequate records are needed" (B-57).

MOBILITY

The Augusta study of mobility shows the marked suburban trend between 1914 and 1939. The downtown area decreased 27 percent in population and the suburban hill section increased 500 percent. Median home occupancy was found to be 2 years 10 months. Home owners occupy dwellings four times as long as renters. People move in order to get a more suitable dwelling, usually in the same census tract, or to get a more suitable neighborhood which usually means going to a different census tract. The factors in mobility are commercial encroachment, quest for social position, and geographical conditions. Augusta exhibits what is commonly found in many cities where more varied ethnic stocks have come and gone, namely ecological succession. In Augusta, the Irish district became one of Negroes (B-5).

In Austin, for the short 3-year period 1929-31, there was considerable ethnic, occupational, and intra-city mobility. Mexicans doubled their population; Negroes gained 36 percent; white, 30 percent. As always, the lower classes are the most mobile and the professional group the least so. Mexicans are the heaviest "out-movers" as are the unskilled labor groups. As compared with Negroes and Mexicans, "whites" do more intra-city moving (B-7).

Durham's slums have high mobility rates as indicated by school records. The study recommends that attention be given "to the infiltration of Negroes to white residential streets, to avoid problems that often arise in a chance or unplanned population change" (B-29).

The study of female migration reveals facts consonant with generalizations. The heaviest female migration occurs between ages 20 and 24 and on up to age 29. The average age of both white and Negro female migrants is 25, the Negroes migrating earlier than the whites. Migration is earlier from the rural areas than from other cities. Of all migrants, 87 percent are rural. By nativity, 80 percent are North Carolinians with 50 percent from Durham and adjoining counties, with 69 percent coming direct from their birthplace. Domestic workers are mostly rural and local. Negroes come longer distances. Professional migrants come a greater distance and are older. Most migrants are single; some are widowed or divorced. Negroes and domestic workers are by race and occupation the more potentially mobile (B-32).

In Greenville, practically no Negroes were found living in the same house over five years. About 60 percent of the Negroes are migrants (B-43, B-44).

RACE²

That Durham has what is referred to as the Mayor's Interracial Committee is significant evidence that in recent years there has been increasing realization of the need for such committees for purposes of prevention and planning in race relations. Just how many southern cities have such committees is not

2. In discussing this topic, we refer to the introductory paragraphs in the section on Race in Chapter 5. Race is an inescapable part of the quantity and quality of all southern life: city, town, and country.

known. How such committees came into being where they do exist throughout the country, we are not sure. Perhaps religious leaders, especially ministers, have had a leading part in their organization. Columbia, Tennessee, to be discussed in Chapter 7, needed such a committee before February 1946 (B-29, B-18).

The Greenville experiment in community organization provided for development of leadership in the Negro Council which stressed recreation, education, health, and crime. The Negro area was coordinated in the community program. Interracial policies met some opposition due to provincialism. Leadership in community race relations was fostered in certain courses at Furman University. (Toward the close of this five-year experiment its leaders worked with a south-wide committee interested in bringing the economic and racial advantages of the Cooperative Movement before southern educators, religious leaders, and labor organizations. A large regional conference in 1939 brought many Negro leaders into fellowship with white leaders in Greenville under auspices which were new to the city. Out of this and similar "cooperative" conferences held elsewhere a manifold interest in all aspects of the Cooperative Movement is developing, particularly among Negroes. This parenthetical insertion is by the writer and is not mentioned in the Greenville studies.) (B-41, B-42).

For High Point, community maladjustments are mentioned as having arisen because of the rapid growth and pressures coming from racial and labor groups. Apparently the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people is thought of as a radical organization (B-46).

Little Rock has interracial programs at Negro and white churches, as well as the Urban League programs, white physicians cooperating in Negro health projects, and Negro doctors being admitted to special post-graduate institutes at the University of Arkansas School of Medicine.

HOUSING

About these medium-sized cities and their housing conditions there is very little that contrasts with what we have already expressed. Vested interests, special pleaders, and citizens prone to rationalize rather than to face squarely conditions as they really are, will be found in all communities this side of Utopia. They are the people who seem to be the most vocal, and oftentimes the most powerful, who give currency to the myths about housing. We have heard them speak from Burlington, Vermont, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, with of course cities like Durham and Greenville in between. We shall add little more than to refer again to the section on Families and Dwellings in Chapter 4 and to the section on Housing in Chapter 5.

Durham, Greenville, Little Rock, Meridian: high percentage of housing in need of major repairs, much overcrowding, low income, high infant mortality, crime and delinquency, conflict over slum clearance, resistance to housing reform by vested interests—all these combine to make rough going for democracy.

Mobile's flimsy shacks and rooming houses of decayed elegance are relieved but slightly by the recent white and Negro housing projects (B-30, B-31, B-41, B-44, B-57, B-62, B-65). And for those concerned about the poverty-laden people for whom parenthood education and family planning are so much needed, the study of the four North Carolina cities points to the relationship between housing and birth control: 51 percent of the 1,056 women (63 percent of the 382 Negroes; 42.3 percent of 674 whites) lives in family situations where there are more than 1.5 persons per room. Such overcrowding is not conducive to what Thorndike calls "general goodness of life."

The housing picture is not all dark by any means. Leaders are arising, citizens are following, the forces of reaction are on the defensive in this problem as they are in all our major problems. Teacher's desk and preacher's pulpit can play their part.

Chapter 7

THE MANY SMALL CITIES IN THE SOUTH

THE 22 identified communities in this chapter, all with less than 25,000 population, represent ten States and a considerable variety of enterprise and occupation. Only 19 of the communities can be called cities by census definition, the remaining ones having less than 2,500 population. In size they range from Gastonia, North Carolina, with 21,313 people to Potterville, North Carolina,¹ and Zion Town, Virginia, urban satellite neighborhoods peopled only in the hundreds. Enterprise and special function include agriculture, education, mining, and textiles, with two communities, Kingsport, Tennessee, and Greenbelt, Maryland, having definite planning a prominent feature in their origin and development.

ECONOMICS

Anderson, South Carolina, gives in the fact-finding study looking toward post-war employment-producing activities, figures and prospects for employment, job opportunities, the percentage of male and female workers, incomes, and estimated consumer demand. The need is seen for more productive work and higher incomes for Negroes to increase their purchasing power (B-1).

Negroes in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina, have better economic advantages in general than is true of many small southern communities. Wages are higher for campus workers than for domestics. There was considerable pre-depression Negro business and property owning. The University of North Carolina Janitors' Association was, until it affiliated with the CIO, more social than economic in interests and activity. About 70 percent of the Negroes carry high-rate life or burial insurance. Until 1946 no response had come to efforts to form a Credit Union but at this writing an interracial, county-wide Credit Union centering in the Negro leadership of Chapel Hill is in operation (B-11).

Charlottesville, Virginia, another State University center, was studied by a former Court Probation Officer with regard to social and economic factors in juvenile delinquency. At this point we shall comment only as follows: "Charlottesville's rural mentality is shown by its apathy about appropriating sufficient funds for juvenile courts" (B-15).

Like many of the titles, neither the Chapel Hill nor the Charlottesville studies can be adequately sampled in these fragmentary paragraphic details. They must be examined as a whole for fuller understanding.

Fredericksburg, Virginia, like Charlottesville, as of the 1930's seems to need to have its sights lifted. Its economic *sit-izenship* contrasts with its reputed tradition of political citizenship. It boasts of thrift, low tax rates and bonded debt, but disapproves of using tax money for a library, family case work, or recreation. Is the city thus economy-minded in the 1940's (B-34)?

1. "Potterville" is fictitious for an unidentified place.

Greenbelt, a planned residential suburb near Washington, is supposedly a one-class community but the study seems to indicate that "class depends largely on income since little property is owned by residents." Government jobs support 80 percent of the families. Salaries have advanced rapidly, most of the increase going into larger families or a rise in the plane of living rather than into savings. Few wives are employed (B-38).

Between Greenbelt and Indianola, Mississippi, the physical distance and social distance are immense in terms of the economic basis of class and caste (B-49).

Kingsport, in 30 years from pasture land to planned industrial expansion, is a community that might be described by those who know it as an interesting combination of paternalism, planning, and progress. Well organized, coordinated industry contrasts with the little progress made in labor organization (B-55).

Narrows, a small Virginia intermountain community of diversified industries, is presented in a study whose purpose is to examine the economic, governmental, and church life (B-66).

Natchez, Mississippi, is another study wherein caste, class, and economics fundamentally tie together. Natchez controls the financial structure of the county through its credit agencies. Caste taboos keep Negroes out of white-collar, high paid or skilled jobs, and out of money-handling or prestige-giving occupations. Negro-white contacts are mainly in the economic sphere, but here they barely touch (B-72).

Roda, Virginia, is dominated by the coal company: Company houses, utilities, and store still of the "scrip" accepting type. The paternalistic economy has recently been modified by union organization and more cooperative ventures by the miners (B-80).

In Milan, Tennessee, we see something of what happens when a small market town of 3,000 gets a war industry that triples its population and dwarfs its former modest industrial pattern (B-64).

POLITICS

Since the Chapel Hill-Carrboro study of 1944 when only a small percentage of Negro citizens registered to vote, the earlier night school activities and the more recent leadership of Negro and white ministers and G.I. students at the university have borne fruit. For the 1946 elections it is estimated that a larger proportion of Negroes voted than ever before. While there remains some dissatisfaction about police work and the administration of justice for Negroes, conditions have improved largely because of increasingly progressive leadership of white and Negro churches backed by town and campus leadership among faculty and students (B-11).

Fredericksburg has many interesting traditions. Not the least of these is that leading citizens take part in political life, holding office and directing the affairs of the city as naturally as they serve in their churches or lodges (this, in a State that still holds onto the poll tax although in most ways it has shaken itself out of the rut-bound traditions of the deeper South). The city pioneered in the

Manager form of government because prominent citizens who were elected were too busy to attend to the details of increasingly complex city affairs. They wanted a better administration than they could provide without expert help (B-34).

Gainesville, Florida, has the commission-manager type of government. In 1932 the city was somewhat plan-minded but as late as 1937 it had no comprehensive plan (B-35).

Gastonia, North Carolina, is a "written-up" town as we shall see in later sections of this chapter. It is a leading center in the textile concentration stretching along the Piedmont. Politics, economics, and religion are much involved with each other. In 1930 the city was found to be badly split into three factions as indicated in the digest (B-36).

Greenbelt's well planned political efficiency—managerial and cooperative in emphasis—is not wholly smooth-rolling. Federal, State, and the county governments are often in conflict. Relations with the county are often strained. Taxation has been a point at issue. No Greenbelter has ever been active in State or county politics. In a young, planned community where citizens have no indigenous roots either politically or in such progressive ventures as cooperatives, it is to be expected that stability is something to be worked for and waited for (B-38).

Greenwood, Mississippi, is mentioned as having given up the mayor-alderman type of government in 1915 since which year it has operated under the commission form. Progress has meant for many cities a moving on from the commission form to the council-manager form so liberally represented in our series of studies (B-45).

Indianola, also in the Yazoo delta area of Mississippi, is not discussed in either study as having anything unique in politics for that area. Politicians and business men are conspicuously active in the church. Disfranchisement, attitudes of both whites and Negroes, the poll tax, the race issue in politics, and oppressive taxation are traditional (B-49, B-50).

Kingsport had the advice of experts in drafting a charter and setting up its manager form of government in 1917. No aspect of Kingsport's experience has received more acclaim than its managerial government. Yet there have been questions. Few controversial issues have developed. Corporation officials have supplied the political leadership with the approval of the community. Voting is light at municipal elections. Since 1930 "a slight restlessness has arisen . . . [perhaps] the ex-mountaineers were beginning to compare themselves with other industrial workers rather than with their rural cousins." Labor organizations have not been encouraged for the workers (B-55).

Narrows, one of the smallest communities included in our list, has had the mayor-council form of government since 1904. Citizen watchfulness means a large turnover of officials at each election. Sociologically, Narrows is an illustration of the transcendancy of the mores which will "win out" over ecclesiastical or statutory laws. Law violations which do not go against the mores of the people often go unpunished (B-66).

For Natchez there is little to emphasize politically except to state that the city controls the financial structure of the county through its credit agencies which also exert political pressure (B-72). Nor is there much to say that is not obvious about a place like Roda (B-80). Where there is dictatorial dominance or super-paternalism, whether it be racial, economic, or political, democracy runs down and out.

EDUCATION

Chapel Hill-Carrboro Negroes show an increasing disposition to attend their Class I-A high school. Its location is not too desirable. Negroes have felt that their wishes have been overridden by white votes. Night school, general adult education programs, and more recently, nursery school provisions, attest cooperative interest and leadership. University and town people, white and colored, and church groups have participated in improving educational conditions (B-11).

The Charlottesville study of juvenile delinquency speaks of the school as one of the "defining agencies" of a child's behavior. Schools have lists of problem children, many of whom they are able to guide sufficiently to keep them out of Juvenile Court. Charlottesville had 5.3 percent illiteracy in 1930, slightly less than other Virginia cities (B-15).

Columbia, Missouri, is not unique in having a survey say that "lack of educational opportunities" contributes to juvenile delinquency (B-17).

Greenbelt's interest in education is indicated by the long paragraph in our digest wherein we find emphasis on the way education is organized and conducted in the community and on the plans for both adults and children (B-38).

"The shadow of caste falls over the school in Indianola." Young white and Negro children attend school in about equal percentages but for high school and college the white percentage is three times that for Negroes. Only 5 percent of Indianola's Negroes are found to be illiterate as compared with 25 percent in the country. Parents and clergy work for better conditions. Education irons out folk traits, superstition recedes as science proceeds. But here is a pointedly significant sentence: "Caste antagonism is sharpened by the competition given white workers by the efficiency of educated Negroes" (B-49).

Kingsport, like Greenbelt, is presented in the study as a community where educational leadership and control tend to come from the top down (B-55).

Leaksville, North Carolina, and contiguous Spray and Draper, might well offer much that is significant under Economics and Politics but the study here briefed dealt with other aspects. The educational points in the study have to do with the amount and degree of illiteracy, the type of reading done, and improvement of the night school program (B-56).

As we read that for Milan with its sharp population increase due to war industry, the school enrollment was affected less than any other institution, we are reminded that nothing short of the utmost care in studying sociological conditions and trends will suffice if one is to predict what will happen if this-or-that happens. Just because there is a threefold increase in population there is no cer-

tainty that high school enrollments will increase, for in any but a "good city" (as Thorndike measures them) youth who ought to be in school may easily be money-drawn into industry (B-64).

In Natchez, Negro education is changing caste and economic systems, is causing migration from county to city, and from city to other regions. Education is the dominant criterion for rising in status. Among whites, school ties are a factor in clique solidarity of adults. Today's school children pass more freely across class lines (B-72).

In Roda education it not too much influenced by the mining company. Its white and Negro elementary schools of seven grades are under county control. Teachers usually live outside the community. Appalachia serves Roda's children desiring high school education. Few ever go to college. Apparently education is of minor importance in this little community (B-80).

The Tarboro, North Carolina, study gives an inside-look at school-community relations as evaluated by one who has taught in the city. The criticism of Tarboro's citizens for not evincing more interest, visiting the school more frequently, and for being suspicious of new teaching methods might be considered as criticism of the normal. For a community to be otherwise would be supernormal. At any rate this little city spends money to supplement teachers' salaries, to provide extra programs and buildings. It seems to need orientation toward tomorrow (B-89).

RELIGION

The studies of Chapel Hill-Carrboro Negro life, if condensed as to the place of religion, would point up somewhat as follows: The University Y.M.C.A. has been influential; the Ministerial Association, now with interracial emphasis, is an integrating force; denominational cleavages are less serious; ministerial and church leaders are active about civic affairs and voting; local interest is shown by Negroes in a statewide interdenominational Ushers' Union; convergence of church interest and activity in the new community center building and its nursery school is apparent. So much for some of the positive aspects. As for the negatives: too many Negro churches create a financial burden; continuing conservatism and sectarian antagonisms use up emotional energy that could work constructively in social action; and as is so often true everywhere among whites and Negroes, too much emphasis seems to be given to preaching, to ceremonialism, and to emotional outpouring that fails to be translated into social-religious reality (B-11, B-12).

The Charlottesville study of juvenile delinquency speaks of the church, as it does of the school, as a "defining agency" of a child's behavior, but the study does not develop a picture of the church's role (B-15). Another study states that the city's Negro church membership, mostly Baptist, is mainly confined to the more prosperous, upper class folk (B-16).

The Columbia, Tennessee, study invites a Biblical reference or two in connection with the failure of the city's leaders to prepare against the dangers of racial conflict. And what about the minister whose attitude seemed to say: "I didn't

think there was anything I could do about it [the race riot], so I went to bed" (B-18)?

The general trend in church development in Farmington, Missouri, has been away from emotionalism and toward "greater sophistication and dignity in the service." What seems to be a more significant statement is this: "[The church] rather studiously remains aloof from the vital problems of the community." "There is some differentiation of interest groups organized around some focal point like the church." The Lutherans—and they are probably of the Missouri Synod so notably close-knit—have a stronger group feeling than the other churches (B-33).

Two studies of the Gastonia area, one about 1930 and the other a decade later, are of special interest. The Rhyne study shows how in mill villages the churches help in the assimilation process, how company town atmosphere, too many churches, and too much denominationalism tend to interfere with the hiring of capable ministers. A decade later Pope points out in his study that no Gastonia minister had had any training for an industrial parish. Pope sees the mill church as almost a distinct type of religious institution, often started as a mission Sunday School by an "uptown" church, more from denominational rivalry than from a demonstrated need. He gives the peculiarities of membership of mill churches as insecurity, transiency, emotionality, and superstition. "In 1939 there were 14 denominations with wide social differences, each identified with an emerging social class." He seems to attach great importance to the need for special preparation by ministers for this type of mill community: "The mill preacher is more the focal point of religion than is devotion to the church or faith in God." Churches do not face social issues such as child labor. Instead they side with employers. Church and mill have a paternalistic slant. The strike of 1929 was opposed by churches; after the strike the churches took no hand in modifying economic conditions which were basic to the strike and brought pressure for the employment of church members only, presumably to keep out agitators. "Today the church is less active than 60 years ago in shaping economic affairs in Gastonia" (B-36, B-37).

Greenbelt, the white collar suburb of Washington, is not a true community because as yet institutional services, interests, and allegiances have not developed into maturity. For example, commuting, renting, no local traditions, few attending local churches, being "married and buried" elsewhere—such practices do not make for community rootage as is true in self-sufficient garden cities abroad. All town officials are affiliated with some church; 62.8 percent of the residents are Protestant, 20.9 percent Catholic, 10.3 percent Hebrew, and 6 percent unaffiliated. Jews, furnishing the largest proportion of leadership, nourish antagonism for so doing. "Catholics and Protestants accuse the Jews of monopolizing positions; Jews and Protestants accuse the Catholics of 'running the town'." We wonder if the Protestants are blameless!

In Indianola nearly everyone is a church member or looks forward to being one. (Powdermaker tells of a prostitute who plans to join when she "retires" but cannot do so now as weekends are her busy time.) Fundamentalism is the

mode whatever the denomination, yet church activities have a social and secular interest for both races. Denominational distinctions are more significant among the whites than among the Negroes. The Negro church—a means of social solidarity and social control—is a conservative force that relieves discontents and helps to maintain self-respect. The form of service is copied by Negroes from the whites, even to the use of hymn and prayer books but some emphases are changed to fit Negro needs as they conceive them. Negroes stress neighborliness and racial tolerance; codes of sin vary but there is forgiveness for all sin. The preponderance of women in churches is explainable as sex sublimation. Young Negroes do not “get religion” violently but find the church a social and administrative outlet. For older Negroes voodoo is important but its influence is waning though it is still a profitable business. Politicians and businessmen are prominently active in the churches. Sermons deal more with sin than with social issues. Middle-class churches deplore the emotionalism of the lower class religious expression. Most higher education for Negroes in the State is church supported which reduces white hostility to the idea of Negroes being educated (B-49, B-50).

Leaksville in the early 1930's had 19 churches representing 9 creeds. The simple character of religious expression is reflected against the emphasis of this recreation study. Bible reading, a chief diversion, is good; recreational activities, doubtful or bad. A fuller study of this threefold community would doubtless reveal attitudes and conditions very much like those given above for Gastonia (B-56).

In Narrows the church, though pushed somewhat into the background by the trends of the times, is still a dominant influence. This does not mean active participation but that business and social success are impossible for anyone who is openly hostile to the church. For the 1,345 people in 1930, seven churches are too many. It looks as though this town was an example of the big-toad-in-the-small-puddle problem that keeps so many little, struggling churches on the map. Annual revivals in their season push everything else into subordination. Such rivalry and proselyting as exist are due to the desire for survival. The days of some of these churches seem to be numbered (B-66).

Natchez in many respects is like Indianola in church matters but more exciting for those interested in Christianity. Churches can be effective means of vertical mobility or social climbing. Church affiliation can create or strengthen social cliques among whites. Mobile individuals leave Baptist or Methodist churches for Presbyterian or Episcopal which are more lenient toward fast-paced living. In such mobility there occurs a lessening of church associations; interest in Sunday school or Missions may cease to be good form. The Negro church—conservative? “No preacher . . . was ever heard to complain in his pulpit against the plantation system,” rather, the *status quo* was accepted as having divine sanction and destitution the result of thriftlessness and sin, not the economic system (B-72).

In Zion Town, satellite of Richmond, the church is the focus of religious life, adult education, recreation, and a sort of clearing-house for the morals

and philosophic impulses of the people. Here, as already emphasized in other communities, Negroes find the church a place for recognition, relaxation, and escape (B-79).

A student pastor sees the situation in Potterville, a North Carolina village much as we have already noted about Gastonia and the Leaksville area: rural heritage and attitudes, fundamentalism, little to develop spirituality, the church program not well adjusted to the philosophy and needs of mill people. While the church cannot do much about major problems it can do something (B-77).

Roda's religion is dominated by the mining company through a white community church governed by Methodist bishops. Ministers can be changed frequently. Perhaps the hierarchical church government fits in with company policy. About one-fifth of the white people belong to the church; nearly all the Negroes attend their two churches. Emphasis is on personal salvation rather than on the social gospel (B-80).

Tarboro has a large church membership. Sects are becoming more numerous. The trend for mill workers to develop their own church organizations and other programs is further separating them from the "first families" (B-89).

HEALTH AND WELFARE

By size of city for specific diseases or for general health and welfare, we are not prepared to make significant comparisons. It is observable, however, from a study of the census figures for recent decades that the larger the city the more favorable the infant and maternity mortality rates. We made this point concerning infant mortality in Chapter 4, Table 8 (page 67). Because our interest and emphasis rotate around family and child welfare and because there are some observable contrasts between large and small cities in conditions that are vital to family life, we give below a simple tabulation for the sample year 1938 comparing maternal mortality by size of community for the country as a whole and for Georgia as a sample southern State. This informal tabulation for maternal mortality can be compared roughly with Table 8 on page 67. ("W" means white; "C" means all other races, mostly Negro.)

Race	Size of Community											
	Total Population		100,000 & over		25,000 to 100,000		10,000 to 25,000		2,500 to 10,000		Rural	
	W	C	W	C	W	C	W	C	W	C	W	C
United States	3.8	8.5	3.7	8.1	4.7	12.9	5.3	16.8	5.4	16.0	2.6	6.8
Georgia	5.2	9.0	5.2	2.8	6.3	10.3	11.5	13.6	10.1	9.9	3.4	9.1

The drop in the rate for the smallest urban and rural areas is certainly due in part to defects in reporting deaths.

The 1930 study of Gastonia and its environs reveals that health and welfare services vary from the type which is company administered and controlled to

no provision of social agencies (B-36). In Greenbelt's immature situation, where there has not been time for the development of cooperative solidarity, it is not surprising that the Health Association was involved in a period of rough going before things smoothed out into cooperative realizations (B-38). Democracy is not fostered by paternalistic doing *for* people—States, communities, families, children—but it does become a reality when the people work *with* each other and when they are encouraged to employ their own effort and power.

Kingsport's paternalism is perhaps among the more excusable types. Here were people, coming from the rural areas, largely unaware of the need for the health and welfare services which city living demands. Considerable "fathering" had to be given by leaders at first. At least the beginnings of voluntary cooperation developed and welfare work was carried on mainly by volunteer agencies with funds from the Community Chest. Health services have been variously financed and managed, partly by some of the corporations, partly by the Commonwealth Fund, sometimes in cooperation with the county and with local contributions, and from a system of hospitalization insurance for employees. Probably the promise of Kingsport's maturing into a democratic community is far better than is the case with most industrial communities of its size (B-55).

Milan's war-accelerated situation brought city and county in cooperative action about food handling and garbage disposal. Water and sewage services had to be extended. Venereal disease and tuberculosis remain as top problems. Half the babies born during the war period came by a unique "home delivery" service. The private hospital in Milan has only half the needed bed space (B-64).

RECREATION

As in Chapters 5 and 6, we see here that there is a close relationship between a community's realization of its need for recreation, a realization translated into action, and the delinquency potential of the community. However, no sensible person holds that athletics and recreation by themselves are capable of displacing horns-and-fork with wings-and-halo.

Anderson's citizens desire more parks, an auditorium, a community building, and youth projects; the Negroes specify a library, a community center, and general recreational facilities (B-1).

Chapel Hill's white and Negro citizens working together have improved recreational conditions among the Negroes even though much still remains to be done. Menacing commercial recreation is reduced; community center activities have increased for all age groups. Boy Scouting since the center opened is decidedly on the upgrade (B-11).

Charlottesville's lowered delinquency rate seems partly explained by more active Scouting and other character-building programs for boys (B-15).

Columbia, Missouri, is viewed as lacking in community-supported recreation (B-17). Fredericksburg disapproves of using taxpayers' money for recreation (B-34).

Farmington's recreational provisions, though largely unorganized, do include municipally furnished park, tennis, and swimming facilities. Sedentary forms of leisure-use assume large importance (B-33).

Gainesville had no recreation department until 1937. A full-time director of recreation had just come at the time of the study. Parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and community center are needed. Negroes seem to have had no consideration in plan or program (B-35).

Gastonia's recreation has been largely unorganized: hunting, fishing, berrying, motoring, and just "a-settin'." In one mill town the company is reported as owning a community house and running a recreation program. The church influence in mill villages often creates a negative attitude toward some forms of recreation. Like Gainesville, however, there has been something of an awakening recently and the city has a full-time director in 1946 (B-36).

Greenbelt had no recreational emphasis or facilities in the plan. Perhaps it was thought that the freshness of the community itself would be sufficiently recreative. The Athletic Association is an influential organization; the Women's Club is a status group with membership by invitation to the exclusion of Jews (B-38).

Kingsport, like Greenbelt, included no recreation. This is of interest and suggests how far we have moved in a few years. Famous landscape architects and city planners collaborated in Kingsport's development. Perhaps they were encouraged to leave recreation to the mills, civic clubs, and other groups such as the American Legion. Architects and planners have not always been noted in their housing and community designing for taking into account the human conveniences or needs, or, as Mr. Johnson of Kingsport would put it: "Humanics instead of mechanics" (B-55).

In Leaksville-Spray-Draper much the same mill-town psychology exists as we mentioned concerning Gastonia—a sort of church stimulated negativism. The Y.M.C.A. program does not run at full potential largely because of such attitudes toward play and athletics. However, the Y.M.C.A. is a central influence. The large membership is partly accounted for by the fact that many homes do not have plumbing and the Y has bathing facilities. The Y sponsors Bible classes and for some of the boys' groups, membership in a Sunday school is required. Recommendations are for folk dancing since churches condemn social dancing. Esthetic recreation would also encourage home improvement and beautification (B-56).

Milan's citizens undertook a recreation program for war industry workers and for soldiers at Camp Tyson, aided by the U.S.O. whose program for the Negroes seemed to function better than for the whites. A more extensive recreation program for the town as a whole is needed; also a more rounded schedule of activities for the young should be provided (B-64).

Except for Roda's managerial families reading is at a minimum. Otherwise recreation is incidental and unorganized. Movies and drinking are commonly the routine (B-80).

Tarboro stands pretty well in recreational provisions and activities. A recreational director is needed. Largely because of the lack in leadership too many children go to movies or loaf after school (B-89).

Zion Town's Negro leisure is given mainly to visiting, reading papers, motor-ing, and to lodge and church meetings (B-79).

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Charlottesville's Negro crime, mostly committed by single offenders, is mainly drunkenness, petty larceny, and vagrancy. Already familiar basic conditions appear also in this study (B-14). The city's juvenile delinquency rate is about equal for both boys and girls whereas most studies show a higher rate for boys. The usual basic conditions are here also but in many cases the delinquent's family had recently come to the city from rural areas. Crime and delinquency? Defective environment and heredity, blight, slums, concentration of poverty, segregation, race conflict, failure of our social institutions to meet the needs—these radiate from hub to rim and back and beyond (B-14, B-15, B-16). The Columbia, Missouri, study simply brings these into a little sharper detail (B-17).

Gainesville seems to have high rates for major offenses with Negro boys as frequent delinquents. The Negro section is a special problem area. In recognition of this the city appointed in 1946 its first Negro policemen. In 1937 the rising delinquency rate took a sharp dip, possibly as a result of the new recreation program (B-35).

Milan's delinquency rate rose during the days of construction for war industry but since that time has been no greater than in pre-war days (B-64).

MOBILITY

In the Gastonia region of mill villages, as in the big cities, the lowest economic class is the most mobile (B-36).

For Natchez we get a glimpse of mobility under the head of "Education" in the digest for that city, for education seems to be the prime stimulant for spatial as well as for social mobility (B-72).

RACE

For Chapel Hill-Carrboro the recommendation that there be a citizens' interracial committee, Negro and Negro-white councils, and other means by which respect and cooperation may be promoted has been very largely effected through educational, recreational, and religious groups of both races. One or more committees, for the most part informal "minute-men" groups, are ready to swing into immediate action in case of need. Church leadership and those otherwise exemplars of Christian reality are the ones in both races most responsible for this constructive condition. As yet no Negro police officer has been appointed (B-11).

Columbia, Tennessee, has recently been the locus of serious race conflict that might easily have been prevented had there been alertness, cooperation, and an organization ready to act. It is our conviction that among church people as nowhere else is there the opportunity for racial peace and good will. Failing to take hold of the opportunity, nowhere else should we look so accusingly. Having said this, we refer to the entire study (B-18).

*To Stem This Tide*² is for neither small nor large cities, but for all racial tension areas in the United States. In some ways it seems that the smaller places have proportionately more tension, danger, and eventuated trouble than do the larger places. Is it easier for interracial activity and organization to take place in the large city than in the small? Could a mixed-race labor union exist in Gastonia as easily as in Atlanta? In large cities, but especially in small places where so little escapes notice, there is need for vision, courage, and occasionally perhaps a bit of compromise. Educator, scientist, and religionist are not going to be scared, however, by warnings about "going too fast." How fast is too fast?

HOUSING

For these small cities there is very little to be found in regard to housing, at least in the titles which came to our notice. Though there is much evidence of small community and rural blight and slum throughout the country, it is in the larger cities that the quantity aspect of the problem has been most compelling.

As in the Gastonia area of 1930, mill towns and cities have a great proportion of company owned and rented homes for the workers. In most instances these dwellings are of better type and more spacious than the workers had when they lived in the rural areas (B-36). Since 1930 the trend is away from company-owned housing, and there are various socio-economic reasons for this.

While Kingsport looks in the direction of what might have been a Garden City—the American counterpart of Letchworth, England—it falls far short of such a goal both as to housing its people and planning its industries. Kingsport, however, must be credited with being in advance of most American industrial communities. It was one of a few cities prior to the 1930's, when the Federal Government through its several acts gave birth to new housing hopes, that was willing to plan with vision and vigor for the whole community.

2. Charles S. Johnson and Associates. *To Stem This Tide*. A Survey of Racial Tensions in the United States (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1943).

Chapter 8

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOUTHERN URBAN CHURCH

THE sociologist has no blueprint for the urban church anywhere. All he can do is to fashion from the materials at hand a trend-line sketch in the hope that it will be of some guidance.

In Chapter 4 we gave a regional-urban profile mainly of demographic trends with facts and comparisons which cannot be erased by easy rationalizations. Here are facts as meaningful *en masse* for the Church's spiritual leadership and vitality as many of these same facts and trends are for commercial life insurance companies.

GENERAL NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDIES ANALYZED

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 we sketched for over fifty southern urban communities in three groupings by size what we found prominent in recent studies of these cities. With no deliberate effort on our part but merely following the natural emphases of the studies, as they dealt with social institutions and community problems, the welfare of childhood and youth became central. Into this hub converge ten topics from Economics to Housing which in related functioning reach to the innermost bearings and outermost rim of community life. We have not elaborated on socio-religious differences between one size of community and another. Others like Douglass and Leiffer have done so in recent years, although in their studies the southern urban church has not figured prominently.¹ The sociological differences between large and small cities seem to be more in degree than in kind. Differences that are likely to be of some significance to church organization and working plan will be found in the type of city rather than in size. Our list includes commercial and industrial cities (production, processing, and transportation centers), educational and resort centers, industrial and residential suburbs.

Purposiveness is the prominent general characteristic of these studies. From scholarly dissertations to more hastily compiled Chamber of Commerce bulletins, with very few exceptions they have implications for tomorrow. Some of them are explicitly on planning. Whether a self-study or the findings of an outsider, there is a clear suggestion that greater things can be done. They fall roughly into three groups; academic, government sponsored, and self studies.

The academic studies, largely graduate theses, a few of which have been expanded into books or other publications, are predominantly of single or re-

1. H. Paul Douglass, *How to Study the City Church* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928); Murray H. Leiffer, *City and Church in Transition* (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1938).

lated aspects of city life, or of a problem area. The aim is to make an objective analysis often with recommendations for solution or improvement of the conditions found. The emphasis is not on rightness or wrongness, the good or the bad, but on what is or is not—interpretation rather than appraisal. In the effort to explain how it reached its present condition considerable appreciation of the unique flavor of a city may be noted. The studies are often of the writer's home town or of some community in which he has a special interest. Frequently the approach is from the angle of the subject studied; delinquency or recreation or housing or something else challenges research into problems of deficiency or excellence.

The government sponsored studies are surveys with recommendations for a specific purpose, usually in rather standardized form and often with little or no mention of other factors in community living. Research done by outside people may have greater objectivity than the academic studies but may lack the unique or dynamic quality of the latter. Rows of figures can be as dull as the mathematical ingredients of an astronomical formula, but looking through them to the constellations of the human universe can be interesting and of analytic predictive value. Again and again we have been impressed as we worked over the digest material with the way in which it enlivens the basic data in Chapter 4. The digests in Appendix B and the topical treatment of them in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 help to supply the reader with that which brings out what may be termed the personality of a city.

The self studies are the most varied and in spite of wide extremes of quality, the most revealing of community spirit even though perspective suffers. Depending somewhat on the motives, the fact that a community initiates an inventory of itself indicates at least a dynamic quality. Such studies may occasionally be undertaken solely by local people, most often for a specific planning purpose. More frequently a community will call in experts to do the job. Sometimes local people actively aid such experts and research staffs.

In addition to published or mimeographed studies and unpublished academic theses—most of which can be borrowed from the library of the sponsoring university—there have been numerous other studies of value to their communities but whose findings have never been put together in the form of a report. Such a project was the religious survey of Louisville in the early 1940's, made by seminary students aided by the city's churches.

A large amount of community study has been conducted by educational groups: graduate projects in education, high school studies, occasional explorations by citizens on such subjects as are occupationally significant for school and pupils' needs. There have been many studies of curriculum, leisure time, truancy, how to extend effectively the use of school property, and other aspects of school-community life that might have been included in our list. We came across many of these but used only a few. Most of the large scale community-wide surveys give far more consideration to the schools than they do to church and religious matters.

Only 10 of the 94 titles are at all emphatic with reference to the church. The emphasis of each is as follows:

B-11 Chapel Hill-Carrboro.....	Negro Church and Community Relationships
B-12 Chapel Hill.....	Negro Church and Community Relationships
B-24 Dallas.....	Institutionalized Religion in Ethnic Groups
B-29 Durham.....	A Study Requested by the Salvation Army
B-37 Gastonia.....	The Church in a Textile Center ²
B-46 High Point.....	A Y.W.C.A. Study
B-50 Indianola.....	Small City Religion and Folk Psychology
B-60 Louisville.....	Church Supported Child Care Institutions
B-72 Natchez.....	Church Interaction and Social Stratification
B-77 Pottersville.....	Rural Minded Mill Village Attitudes

Other studies, such as the particularly meaningful exploration of youth needs in Dallas (B-25), bring in religion but with less emphasis than is the case in the 10 titles listed above. Of the remaining 83 titles, 42 give incidental or passing mention to churches or religion and 41 make no reference to the church. It has seemed to us, not only throughout this present study but also as we have earlier noted in the content of community studies, that the church institution tends to be either ignored or taken for granted. Of course, it has received considerable attention as the focus of special study. We detect among students an attitude that is not necessarily cynical but seems to say: "Oh well, *churchianity* never has been and never will be interested in getting into community-wide action." It should not be difficult to point these young people to exemplary Christianity, in leadership and program, where the symbolic cross reaches out to touch constructively every aspect of common life, to churches where the pulpit is unafraid of the politico-economic influences that occupy the pew, and where the people activate the answer to the question: "And who is my neighbor?" It is our conviction that the church must answer this question by word and deed with the same socialized vision and courage as was true of its Founder. Too many of the folk have fallen among thieves; the challenge for the church is one of action.

THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNITY

Again and again we find implied or expressed: "The church rather studiously remains aloof from the vital problems of the community." How much can the church do about economic problems? (B-77). Negroes, and whites; low income, lacking credit, untrained and without earning power, unorganized, victims of segregation and prejudice which are largely rooted in economics, high mortality-

2. The following novels are based on the Gastonia strike: Fielding Burke's *Call Home the Heart* (1932) and *A Stone Came Rolling* (1935); Grace Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread* (1932), and *A Sign for Cain* (1935); Myra Page's *Gathering Storm* (1932); William Rollins' *The Shadow Before* (1934); Mary H. Vorse's *Strike!* (1930).

ties, child labor. Perhaps, as the author of the "Potterville" study says, the church by itself cannot do much directly. But it can accelerate action through cooperation with other constructive forces and techniques. For many a church of low income members, white or Negro, the formation of a credit union that helps individual church members may mean not only less money for the loan sharks but more money for church support. It is certain that many a minister is seeking "to create a Christian social consciousness, to liberalize the social and economic attitudes of church members who, because of their position in society and their economic status, frequently suffer from ethical blind spots."³ A Little Rock study is suggestive of a confidential seminar of white ministers held a few years ago in Arkansas (B-57). A large number of the pastors confessed to a desire to reach economically unorganized and exploited people, but they were afraid to do so. These men admitted, as we find suggested repeatedly in our studies, that it was easier to preach against sin than to expose to the burning light of Christian standards the economic, political, and racial maladjustments which are productive of, if not synonymous with, sin.

We also find again and again suggestions about the training of ministers for industrial parishes, particularly for mill communities. There seems to be a challenge in the statement: "The mill preacher is more the focal point of religion than is devotion to the church or faith in God." Would some months in a mill or mine, a factory or store, a restaurant or garage, some rubbing with work-a-day reality, be a good thing as supplemental to or included in the seminary program?

The interrelations of economics with all other vitalities of our urban communities, especially as they concern the upbuilding of childhood and youth, are quite overwhelming as we consider them for this briefing. We think of money-motivated conditions in the "church-going cities" of the South, of politico-economic class dominations in places like Charlotte, Natchez, and Roda, of willingness or unwillingness to "pay the price" of juvenile protection, as all these appear from Anderson to Zion Town. We see the economic involvements beneath and through the figures presented in Chapter 4 where our southern cities are measured and found wanting at practically every point of comparison. We see with Thorndike that there is in them comparatively little of "general goodness" as contrasted with the potential goodness of places and people. Nowhere is there a Garden City.

THE CHURCH AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Southern cities have been among the leaders in improving the mechanics of city government: Galveston, Sumter, Staunton, and Fredericksburg among them. Among our titles we find, as we do with individuals, mixed conditions of apathy, short vision, and vitality. Political indifference contrasts with pride in public service, within the same community and between communities of similar types. As in Fredericksburg, citizens may be civic minded to the point

3. Murray H. Leiffer, *City and Church in Transition* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, & Co., 1938), pp. 234-5. Cf. also James Street's *The Gauntlet* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1945).

of having steam cleaned garbage cans while allowing the City Council to penny-pinch in its support of recreation, libraries, and family case work.

A long term adequately financed city plan is recognized by professional city managers as a tool of good government. It can be promoted by the cooperation of business, political, and religious interests aided by the press and civic associations. What better subject for a church or interdenominational forum? Careful study precedes planning. Eager, intelligent young people might help with such surveying and appraising. For them there is something concretely religious about discovery and action in connection with housing or recreation or job opportunities. A few years ago some high school students discovered so much about the good of the city manager plan and so much about the bad of their city political machine, that as a result of their study and action the political machine was nearly upset.

Can the church afford to be silent and inactive about the poll tax and other aspects of demagogic disfranchisement? Is it of religious concern that police work is properly paid and properly done? The pioneering days looking toward women police and Negro police are over but only a minority of southern cities have them. Considerable emphasis is given in our studies to police inadequacy especially in relation to crime and delinquency, to the dissatisfaction of Negroes with what is supposed to be police protection.

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

Education means to "lead out." In the order of emphasis we find education stressed as fundamental with regard to the following: (1) to overcome the pre-urban lags or those conditions that call for adjustment from the rural to the urban; (2) to combat delinquency; (3) for vocational education and guidance; (4) for fuller citizenship and better use of leisure; (5) to promote assimilation of foreign-born. Among other emphases are adult and parent education for both races through night schools, especially for low income people with little earlier schooling. Into every one of the above avenues of opportunity, it would seem that the living church could enter to encourage and to supplement other educational efforts in the community.

These are approaches to the fundamentals of Christianity and of democracy. They are missions for the church on its own doorstep. What better project for an unpatronizing Christian social service committee than to help with the teaching of reading and writing, nutrition and child care in some neighborhood of marked need? From these studies and from many observations over the years, we see in our own southern urban backyard plenty of challenge. There are projects that could combine religion, recreation, and group work in such fields as music, drama, and crafts.

The church's best charity might be the support of social agency and recreational programs, with emphasis on educational and preventive measures. Until the church works strenuously for better educational conditions in every underprivileged group and neighborhood, the best efforts of far-seeing leaders and programs will be of little avail. Uninformed ministers with ignorant followers

cannot be saved from their emotionality until religion and education take the high road of enlightenment together. Competitive denominational missionizing blocks this progress in larger cities as well as in mill towns. Abiding results will come when people are given the means of helping themselves, where education is encouraged by religion to be free, fearless, and inclusive.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The chief health problems of our southern cities as found in these studies include tuberculosis, venereal disease, high birth rates, and high infant mortality rates among the poor of all races. We see this tied in with overcrowded housing, low income, and interrelated vested interests. Coordination between social agencies and religious groups is observably needed, whether the social agencies be public or private. Child welfare receives considerable emphasis: dependency, delinquency, too much institutional care of children, and among Negroes, very bad health and welfare provisions for children as in Dallas, Louisville, Kansas City and Nashville. Positive recommendations recur especially with respect to the need for more foster home care, more and better adoptions, and fewer orphanages.

The church today is not matching secular progress in child welfare. A generation or more ago orphanages were in keeping with the charity and social work ideas of the period. The South has not taken to child placement in families. The sentimental appeal of church orphanages and maternity homes does not seem to be equalled by a willingness of church members to adopt or give foster home care to needy children. While orphanages and other institutions sometimes do excellent jobs, develop life-long loyalties in their charges, and otherwise creditably perform a fine service, the best institution simply cannot meet the psycho-social developmental needs of the average child. Emotional "pity" or "charity" must never be a substitute for good case work, accurate records, and high standards of health and training. A Louisville study is one of the outstanding reasons for our extended emphasis on this point (B-60). Among the results of a survey in Nashville were the following: an orphanage was displaced for a foster home care program; another orphanage was restricted to nursing care (B-67). We know this is a sensitive point for some churches and the vested institutional interests, some of whom have been known to resist or reject opportunities for "their" children to be adopted by qualified families.

Our studies point out the need for more recreation facilities, better leadership, and the need for the church to take a more positive and constructive attitude about uses of leisure. Many of our cities by-pass the needs of Negroes in all aspects of recreation but occasionally there is encouraging evidence of community-wide Christian democracy. Frequently we find expressed the suggestion that more use should be made of churches and schools for weekday and night programs for children and adults. The warning from several studies is to preserve flexibility, to coordinate activities with the community needs and program, not to overspend for buildings or permanent facilities especially in a changing neighborhood. If a choice must be made between spending for

recreational equipment or for leadership, take the leadership, insist on training, and pay well. Other points of stress are: encourage the cooperative rather than competitive activities, the social and creative rather than big-muscle athletics and sports. If never before has there been so much emphasis on recreation, never has there been so much recognition of criminality. It has become so pervasive with high power geared to low ethics, and with ideals prostituted to deals, that democracy itself is threatened. The complex socio-economic conditions out of which our crime grows seem for many to justify that which is not justifiable. For many southern cities, big and little, there are some unholy contrasts and rationalizations. When a city prides itself on being a "strong church town" and at the same time has no detention home for wayward children, its juvenile delinquency rate the worst to be found in the State, its police of most inferior type, and other indices pointing to widespread social pathology, then it would seem that Veblen had a point in saying about city churches: "As their spires point heavenward, the slums within their shadows reek with miserable humanity." Preaching and teaching in a southern city of that kind need to reach beyond pulpit and desk pounding.

THE CHURCH AND INCREASING URBANISM

Sociologically mobility is an interesting subject of study especially for southern urban and rural areas. The sociologist thinks of it as not only spatial, families and groups moving from place to place, but also as the chance to rise in social status. In terms of spatial mobility, our studies show what to most informed people is now quite well known, that there is still considerable rural to urban migration. We touched on this in Chapter 4. There is also in southern cities a marked suburban movement which must be taken into consideration in interpreting census figures as well as in planning for the future. Considerable intra-city and inter-city mobility takes place. The growth of urbanism in the South is a reflection of recent mobility trends. In some of the studies we saw what seemed to us the importance of comprehending the mobility potential for the years just ahead especially for plans involving religious work.

THE CHURCH AND MINORITY GROUPS

Social mobility that implies change of status or vertical movement is of special interest and importance in southern communities. The United States is not free of class divisions but in the South we live in a society marked also by caste. Such terms as "white supremacy" and "keeping the nigger in his place" suggest the situation. In deep southern cities and in most of the rural areas such a philosophy is dominant. Here and there in urban areas the rigidities of the caste barriers are yielding somewhat. We see the churches challenged to interpret the teachings of Jesus more literally than most of them in the South have yet done.

Texas Mexicans and southern Negroes generally have been given considerable space in the studies analyzed. Inescapably the Negro receives a great deal of attention; he is the "all other races" in census references for southern cities,

and of course, in our tables in Chapter 4. As we summarize the material on race it points up the causes of conflict, how improved conditions may be achieved, the latter including some definite recommendations.

Racial conflict results from lack of civic leadership, interracial efforts, and police training for tension situations. Then there are many people who fear "going too fast," and the sociologist knows well the power of the folkways. But he will respond, "How fast is too fast?" Jesus, and countless others who have bent forward the folkway front in many fields of progress, went "too fast" for the crowd.

Racial conditions can be improved through coordinated plans of varied types: educational, recreational, religious, political, and economic. Negro and white citizens, church leaders, educators, getting together to plan and build a community center; workshop and training conferences of interracial purpose; meaningful religious programs that bring together in full fellowship peoples of varied races and levels of income; the formation of credit unions and cooperatives, *preferably* interracial and thus in harmony with the original principles of Rochdale; and the appointment of well trained Negro police. The foregoing are but some of the recommendations emerging from the material. We can do no more here than to refer again to the title *To Stem This Tide* mentioned toward the end of Chapter 7.⁴ The sociological scientist tries to analyze the hard facts of race relations. Christianity and the findings of biological-anthropological-sociological science give the only solution to the problem. Mass-stigmatization, because of skin color perhaps, cannot eternally endure in this close-knit world.

THE CHURCH AND HOUSING

With regard to housing, we summarize as follows: Southern cities have the worst conditions of room overcrowding to be found in the entire country; housing needing major repairs or without bathing facilities stands in the same low rank; positive correlations between housing and various aspects of social pathology are obvious (unfit houses and low rent related to relief, health conditions, delinquency). Our southern cities as a whole have taken hold of the federal slum clearance and housing programs. Some admirable results physically and socially have been the outcome of cooperative business arrangements between city, State, and Nation, but the original need of better housing for low income people was so great in the South that the problem continues to be of huge proportions.

NEED FOR A FUNCTIONAL CHURCH

The southern urban community and the churches serving it have not outgrown the condition described by Douglass over twenty years ago in the St. Louis Church Survey. The picture of the St. Louis church is one that has not kept pace with urban growth, that is, membership is small, usually under 300; office methods, social activities, and religious training are provincial. The church

4. See page 113.

does not match the school in urban characteristics but seems "to have transplanted rural limitations rather than to have achieved typical urban expression." The community-serving churches lack facilities and prestige for really effective, professional service. They do not cooperate sufficiently with social agencies. Church people do not "think like city people financially, have not developed a metropolitan conscience." Sunday schools are largely traditional, inadequate in members, teachers, financial support, equipment, time spent, interest of church, as feeders for adult church members or participants. Unity, cooperation, and adventurousness—creativity versus tradition—were seen by Douglass as basic needs if St. Louis churches "are to be worth the carrying charges."⁵

We discovered a recent study of trends in urban church architecture which contained a plan for a group of functional church buildings. Here are some of the more important thoughts:

The design is planned to serve the socially adapted church. The study is inter-denominational, with emphasis on the "large city church having a broad program of activities," not confined to the interests of adherents of a particular church but rather aimed to meet community needs.

The author keeps foremost the functional aspects of church building; he allows liberal space and facilities, not only for worship and ceremonial use, but also for an educational program for all ages, as well as for social and recreational activities.

The plant should be arranged for weekday classes; for teacher training classes; for emphasis on religious music and art. Allowances should be made for change and growth by movable partitions and equipment, and by unit building where funds are limited or the expansion of the church more than usually unpredictable.

The Social Service Program of a church is primarily concerned with the social adjustments of the people whom it serves. It has to do not only with traditional charitable services but with the even more fundamental problem of helping people to regain and retain their self respect and adapt themselves to life as it comes. A really well trained pastor is versed not only in theology, but in psychology and sociology.

Likewise the program of the church is the broadening of its scope from the teaching of the pure Gospel to a comprehensive leadership in all activities for community betterment. Helping the mentally and spiritually maladjusted, encouraging backward and timid people to expand their personalities, guiding adolescent youth over rough places, befriending lonely foreigners and assisting them to become assimilated—such are the fields in which the church can perform a great service to humanity.

Welfare activities of the church should be based on sound sociological principles. An abundant social welfare program should permeate all phases of the

5. H. Paul Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey* (New York: Doran, 1924), pp. 102, 115.

church's activities and all available facilities should be used for this important work. Many authorities believe that the church should take the lead in a public health program. Traditionally, instead of fostering a program of recreation, the Protestant churches have frowned upon many wholesome forms of diversion as being intrinsically evil. It is the duty of the Christian Church to make it possible that in our crowded city conditions our young people shall have an opportunity for play and amusement.⁶

Much more might be quoted. It should be mentioned that the author's architectural ideas and drawings centered on his own church in Gainesville, Florida.

* * * *

In conclusion, we offer some choice sentences from a layman's address delivered in January 1945 at a meeting held to launch a wider program of service to church and community by the Protestant Council of the City of New York and its constituent organizations:

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH: WHAT OF ITS FUTURE?⁷

Let us picture, for a moment, this reborn church.

Its atmosphere would be one of warmth, freedom, and joy, so sympathetically and distinctly manifest as to attract and win into its fellowship all those who are striving to live useful worthy lives.

It would pronounce ordinance, ritual, creed, all non-essential for admission into the Kingdom of God or His church. A life, not a creed, would be the test.

Its object would be to promote applied religion, not theoretical religion.

As its first concern it would encourage Christian living seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year.

It would be the church of all the people, of everyone who is fighting sin and trying to establish righteousness; the church of the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant, the high and the low—a true democracy.

Its ministers would be trained not only in the seminaries, but in some form of work-a-day life, so that they might acquire a personal knowledge of practical problems. Thus they would live in closer touch with humanity, would better understand and sympathize with human difficulties, and would exert their influence as much in living as in preaching.

6. Arthur D. McVoy, Study of an Ideal Non-Ritualistic Church Group for an Urban Community. Gainesville: University of Florida, Master's Thesis (in Architecture), 1937, pp. 94-6 and *passim*. Several years of study of his own church give the focus for his observations and interest. The author is an architect.

7. By John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Published by the Protestant Council, 19 West 44th St., New York 18, N. Y. (January 31, 1945).

I see all denominational emphasis set aside.

I see cooperation, not competition.

In smaller places, instead of half a dozen dying churches, competing with each other, I see one or two strong churches uniting the Christian life of the town; great economy in plant, in money, in service, in leadership; the money thus saved available for home and foreign missions.

On February 3, 1943, the cargo transport *Dorchester* was torpedoed at 1:15 A.M. and sank within twenty-five minutes. . . . As the ship went down, four chaplains—one a Catholic, one a Jew, two Protestants—were on the deck encouraging the men and passing out life belts. When there were no life belts left, they took off their own and gave them away. These chaplains were last seen standing arm in arm praying.

As they went to their death, united in the service of their common Lord, so let us, the living members of the great religious faiths they represent, go forward, shoulder to shoulder, as a united army, fighting evil, establishing righteousness, brothers in service, sons of the one God and Father of us all!

Part III

CHURCH-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

by

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

Chapter 9

AN APPROACH TO STUDYING CHURCH-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

ASSUMPTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

INCREASING emphasis upon functional Christianity during the past generation has modified many aspects of church-community relationships. No longer can the minister adequately fill his pastorate, and especially plan his sermons, without intelligent awareness and scientific understanding of the community in which the church is located. Realization is dawning that the social, economic, health, and educational backgrounds of parishioners have fundamental effects upon the program of the church. Quoting Arthur T. Mosher in the April 1945 issue of the *Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin*: "Increasingly, we are coming to see that the *field* of the local church must be the whole neighborhood; that health, both physical and spiritual, is indivisible, that in economic well-being most of a neighborhood is interdependent, that community is to be desired embracing the whole neighborhood, shared in by Christian and non-Christian alike." It may be suggested that *working for the Kingdom of God* is coming to be interpreted, in part at least, as *serving the community*.

This tendency of the church to take a more functional role alongside other agencies in American communities poses certain difficulties, not the least of which is lack of a socially alert clergy with an understanding of the nature of community. The church's program of religious education must be keyed in part to the social and economic needs of the community. Furthermore, the congregation must become not only willing but enthusiastic for an active role of the church in community affairs. Finally, the other community agencies must become receptive to church participation in matters affecting their programs.

Growing out of these assumptions, plans were developed for field studies which would seek to analyze church-community relationships. Three objectives were established for these surveys:

1. To provide information for the Committee on Religious Education Re-Study of The Presbyterian Church in the United States in its analysis of and recommendations for the religious education program of the Church.
2. To develop procedures whereby such a survey can be part of an on-going process of church revitalization in relation to community development.
3. To initiate this process of church revitalization in relation to community development in the selected localities.

PROCEDURES IN MAKING THE SURVEYS

Inasmuch as the second of the three objectives had to do with developing procedures whereby more than a mere report would result, it may be well to indicate the steps followed and the responsibilities assigned in executing each community survey. This will also serve to emphasize the rather severe limitations imposed upon the project by the attempt to develop procedures whereby the device of a survey might be used more widely by churches in the region. Appendix C presents a statement of procedures generally employed in the ten community studies.

Suffice it to say that with one exception each regional director of religious education of The Presbyterian Church in the United States was responsible for one survey. The survey was done by a local committee appointed by the pastor, sometimes with the aid of others who knew the community well.

A suggested outline for the surveys was provided by the director of the project at the University of North Carolina. Indication was given in each section as to who could probably provide the data and the suggested length for that part of the study. This outline and several survey forms are reproduced in Appendix C.

Allocation of responsibilities for different parts of the survey was made by the local committee. Sometimes the pastor, sometimes someone else, assembled the information and put the material together into a more or less complete narrative report. Conclusions as to implications of the study for the local Presbyterian church were discussed thoroughly by the survey committee. It was hoped that there could be some follow-up of the survey on the part of the church, and this has occurred in several instances.

SUBREGIONAL LOCATION OF THE COMMUNITIES

An earlier part of this volume describes the subregions of the sixteen States in which The Presbyterian Church in the United States operates.¹ Seventeen rural cultural subregions, as delineated by A. R. Mangus, lie entirely or partially within this area. Of these, fully half are of minor importance because they are either small, sparsely populated, or extend only slightly into these States.

Since with one exception a community was selected for study in each of the administrative regions of the denomination, geographic spread was assured. Analysis of the sample communities in terms of subregional representation may be made in Figure 1 on pages 22-23. Here it is seen that six of the seven most significant subregions of the South contain at least one of the communities surveyed.

Moving from east to west, the 10 selected communities may be located by subregions as follows:

1. These States, in addition to the District of Columbia, are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

Brownsburg (Raphine), Virginia.....	Southern part of the Allegheny subregion
Charleston, West Virginia.....	Northern part of the Appalachian subregion
Franklin, North Carolina.....	Southern part of the Appalachian subregion
Rcidsville, North Carolina.....	Northern part of the Eastern Old South subregion
Greenville, South Carolina.....	Farther down in the Eastern Old South subregion
Nashville, Tennessee.....	Central part of the North-South Border subregion
Vicksburg, Mississippi.....	Lower part of the Mississippi Delta subregion
New Madrid, Missouri.....	Extreme northern tip of the Western Old South subregion
Mansfield, Louisiana.....	Central part of the Western Old South subregion
Kilgore, Texas.....	Central part of the Western Old South subregion

SIZE OF THE COMMUNITIES AND THE CHURCHES STUDIED

The 16 southern States² and the District of Columbia have approximately 62 percent of their population rural, that is, living outside incorporated places of 2,500 or more. The size of these rural communities varies greatly in both area and population depending upon who is marking off the community boundaries. As pointed out in an earlier part of this volume, there is a tendency for the disintegration of the old rural neighborhoods with a corresponding increase in the trend toward larger community groupings in social organization. There is also the tendency toward village-centered communities. Indeed even the smaller villages and towns are becoming more important focal points for the rural dwellers round about. There is, therefore, no way of accurately estimating the number of rural communities in the South.

In Table 4 on page 61, the 38 percent of the South's population residing in incorporated places of more than 2,500 population are distributed according to size of urban place. Here may be seen how many and what percentage of the urban communities the South has in each size group; also, how many and what percentage of the people live in communities of each size group. This table served as a guide in selecting the urban centers for the field study.

Brownsburg (referred to also as Raphine), Virginia, Franklin, North Carolina, and New Madrid, Missouri, represent the rural communities of the region, ranging from an open-country community to a village just too small to be

2. In Maryland only the city of Baltimore and four counties which have churches affiliated with The Presbyterian Church of the United States are included.

classed as an urban place (Table 13). Mansfield, Louisiana, is in the group with a population of 2,500 to 5,000. Kilgore, Texas, represents the next group, 5,000 to 10,000. Two small cities, Reidsville, North Carolina, and Vicksburg, Mississippi, are at each extreme of the size group 10,000 to 25,000. In the two next higher population groups come Greenville, South Carolina, and Charleston, West Virginia, respectively. One metropolitan center, Nashville, Tennessee, was studied. No city was selected with a population over 250,000 because of the small number in the region.

TABLE 13. POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITIES SURVEYED, 1940, AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FOR SELECTED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, 1945

<i>Community</i>	<i>Population 1940</i>	<i>Selected Presbyterian Church</i>	<i>Church Membership 1945</i>	<i>Sunday School Enrollment 1945</i>
Brownsville, Va.	*	New Providence	714	429
Franklin, N. C.	1,249	Franklin Presbyterian	88	43
New Madrid, Mo.	2,450	First	80	72
Mansfield, La.	4,065	First	130	80
Kilgore, Texas	6,708	First	703	539
Reidsville, N. C.	10,387	First	445	362
Vicksburg, Miss.	24,460	First	432	251
Greenville, S. C.	34,734	First	1,290	939
Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Bream Memorial	2,938	2,302
Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	Glen Leven	450	300

*Exact population not available for this open-country community.

Source: Population statistics from *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Population, Vol. II. Church membership and Sunday school enrollment from *Minutes of the Eighty-Fifth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in the United States*, Montreat, North Carolina, May 1945.

It should be clear that no attempt was made to select a sample of 10 communities which, added together, would be representative of the total South. Rather the attempt was made to select one community from each significant size group so that through the case study method certain conclusions might be drawn. In this, the project seems to have been successful.

One white Presbyterian church was selected for study in each of these ten communities.³ These churches combine to give a varied representation for the Presbyterian denomination in the South in terms of both size and type. In the

3. The Committee on Field Studies of the Re-Study Committee suggested that Negro churches not be included because another subcommittee was working in this field. Also Negroes constitute only 3 percent of the Presbyterian membership in the South.

New Providence Church in Brownsburg we have one of the largest and best known open-country churches in the region, with a church membership of 714 and a Sunday school enrollment of 429. The churches in Franklin and New Madrid give a sampling of the smaller rural churches in villages, having a church membership of 88 and 80 respectively, with Sunday school enrollment of 43 and 72. The church in Mansfield is likewise a fairly small one located in a village. The church in Kilgore is unusually large and strong in comparison with the size of its community. The First churches in Reidsville and Vicksburg seem to represent the typical strong church in towns of from 10,000 to 25,000 population. One of the largest and strongest churches included in the study, and one with a well-known community point of view, is the First Church in Greenville. The church in Charleston represents a downtown institution in one of the larger cities, while Glen Leven in Nashville is a vigorous suburban church in a metropolitan area.

ECONOMIC TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

Through the background of these communities is revealed much of the historical development of the South. Brownsburg, Charleston, Reidsville, and Franklin, being located in the eastern part of the region, go far back into the early days of the Nation for their origins. Nashville and Vicksburg played important historical roles in the South. Greenville has come into more recent prominence through industrial development since the 1890's. Kilgore became known outside of its immediate vicinity only with the discovery of oil in 1930.

Through their histories, in which the development of the selected Presbyterian church has played a part, one comes to appreciate something of the flavor of the community. Reference to Scotch-Irish, English, Spanish, and French backgrounds calls to mind the early nationality groups which settled the region. The movement of population westward from the Atlantic coast and the migrations southward from Pennsylvania and other Middle Atlantic States constitute the "warp and woof" of southern settlement, as Vance has cogently remarked. The spread of railroads has also been important in partially determining the lines of southern economic development, especially with reference to particular communities such as Reidsville, Greenville, and Charleston. Vicksburg and Charleston have been influenced greatly by available water transportation.

Brownsburg is the only real farming community which we have surveyed. New Madrid and Mansfield are small villages serving primarily as agricultural trading centers and numbering many farmers in their population. In Franklin, Reidsville, and Kilgore one finds small industrial centers, each featuring one or more important industries of the South. Franklin, in the Appalachian sub-region, is chiefly active in producing lumber, pulpwood, electric power, and mica, as well as having an expanding tourist business. Reidsville, in the so-called Piedmont Crescent of Industry, is characterized by two of the South's predominant manufacturing industries, textiles and tobacco, with their accompanying subsidiary enterprises. Kilgore is a typical oil boom town of the early

1930's which is now trying to diversify its industrial pattern, although the outlook for continued oil production for some years is still bright.

Moving to the larger sample communities, there is Vicksburg as an agricultural center with a small amount of industrial development in the manufacture of grading machinery and with some tourist business in connection with the local National Park. Greenville, definitely of the New South, has become one of the Nation's leading textile centers with a number of additional small industrial plants. It also is something of a business and an educational center. Charleston, located on the Ohio river, is of importance as an industrial and transportation center, its immediate area producing and shipping coal, oil, gas, hardwoods, and salt. Manufacturing in Charleston includes furniture, steel, glass and heavy chemicals. It is the capital of West Virginia. Nashville is a governmental and an educational center, being the capital of Tennessee and having six well-known institutions of higher learning. It is also a business and diversified industrial center of note.

In summary, our 10 communities represent many different types of localities classified according to function, with most of the communities serving more than one function: production of raw materials (Brownsburg, Franklin, New Madrid, Mansfield, Kilgore), agricultural trading center (New Madrid, Mansfield, Reidsville, Vicksburg), manufacturing (Franklin, Reidsville, Greenville, and most of the larger communities), business and commerce (Vicksburg, Greenville, Charleston, Nashville), government (several are county seats; Charleston and Nashville are State capitals), education (Greenville, Nashville), recreation (Franklin).

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Of the three types of resources upon which communities must be based—natural, human, and cultural—the human resources or the people are most important. Certainly they are a chief concern of the church. Population characteristics influence in many ways the task of the church.

In line with population trends throughout most of the country, almost all of the communities surveyed have experienced an increase in population since 1900. Only in Brownsburg, an open-country community, was the population less in 1940 than in 1900. The small villages characteristically have had only a slightly increasing population. It has been the towns and cities in which industry is important which have had the outstanding population gains during this period.

One of the most important characteristics of southern communities is the proportion of the population which is Negro, affecting as it does the patterns of social behavior in transportation, public facilities, education, religion, and indeed all aspects of community life. Only in Brownsburg with 6 percent, Franklin with 7 percent, Charleston with 10 percent, and Kilgore with 15 percent, do Negroes constitute less than one-fourth of the population. Concentration of Negroes is found especially in communities in the deep South such as Vicksburg with more than 50 percent and Mansfield with 42 percent. In no

southern community, however, can one say that the problem of race relations is not present. In fact, studies have indicated that racial discrimination and tension are often great even where the minority group is not large.

A well known population phenomenon is demonstrated by these sample communities in that only in the rural open-country community of Brownsburg are there more males than females. In the villages and towns and especially in the larger population centers such as Greenville, Charleston, and Nashville, females are decidedly in the majority. This is, of course, explained by the rural-urban migration of young women to the cities with urban life offering them better job opportunities than does the country. This predominance of women, found as it is in all of the urban communities surveyed, is a factor which should be noted by those working in town and city churches. The fact that urban places are populated in such large part by migrants from other areas is also worthy of note. The church will be able to appeal more effectively to these people when it attempts to obtain scientific understanding of their backgrounds and their present problems of adjustment to urban ways of living and to urban values.

A somewhat similar population characteristic is that of age. The relative proportions of different age groups in a community have important implications for local social institutions. Again, a distinct rural and urban difference may be noted in this respect. Brownsburg, Franklin, Mansfield, and New Madrid have a much higher birth rate than is true for the larger centers. This means that children and youth constitute an unusually high proportion of the population in these communities. Franklin and Brownsburg especially reflect this situation as they are in that part of the country commonly known as the Nation's seedbed of population. As the size of community increases, the birth rate generally falls, as does the proportion of children and youth in the total population. The migration of young adults to urban centers for employment results, in the cities, in a ballooning of the numbers in the most productive period of life. Also the tendency for older rural people to retire to villages to spend the last years of their lives results in an undue proportion of aged in the population of this type of community.

Chapter 10

QUALITY OF LIVING IN THE COMMUNITIES

A PRIMARY PURPOSE of the field studies was to reveal some of the characteristics of these communities as places in which to live. In no other way than through the home and neighborhood backgrounds of its parishioners is the church more intimately related to its community. Attention will be directed first to the neighborhood structure of these communities, and then to their major social and economic problems.

NEIGHBORHOOD STRUCTURE

One way of obtaining valuable insight into the quality of living in a community is to analyze its neighborhood structure. Most communities, even those of small size, are composed of several or many rather distinct neighborhoods, although the Franklin and Mansfield surveys report that their communities have only a business district and residential sections with no apparent class distinctions.

Much work has been done by the agricultural extension services in the various States in recent years in refining the concepts of rural neighborhood and rural community. The following definitions have resulted from this work:

A *neighborhood* as the term is used in agricultural planning consists of a small group of farm families who live fairly close together, who recognize a common name for their immediate locality, who personally know one another and, to some extent, visit among themselves, and who usually are accustomed to working together as a local unit. Their homes often are centered around a church, store, or filling station, or were centered around a small school before the consolidation of schools into larger districts. Neighborhoods vary greatly in size, population, and other characteristics, but they are always the smallest general group of families in a rural area.

A *community* may be defined as a group of neighborhoods which have a natural tendency to associate together because of common interests. The community usually possesses one center to which most of its people go fairly often. Communities are more arbitrarily delineated than neighborhoods, since factors, such as physical barriers, nearby towns, and the location of common meeting places, schools, churches, etc., may attract people from the same neighborhood to different places. Communities, like neighborhoods, vary in many ways—in area, in number of neighborhoods composing them, in causes for their particular composition, etc. However, satisfactory groupings usually are made easily on the basis of the number and intensity of associations between them.¹

One of the best jobs in delineating neighborhoods is done in the Brownburg survey. In this open-country community seven neighborhoods were marked off

1. Taken from mimeographed material of the Agricultural Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, n.d.

and described. The number of families in each neighborhood ranges from 10 to 25. There are considerable variations in type of farming and standards of living between the seven neighborhoods. Although farm tenancy is not a major problem of the community, it is found more frequently in some neighborhoods than in others. Certainly the New Providence Church can have a better understanding of the community and the people whom it serves if the facts about these different neighborhoods are given careful consideration.

There is evidence that once a community reaches the size of approximately 5,000, the neighborhood structure may become rather complex and quite a few neighborhoods can be delineated. For example, the Kilgore survey presents an excellent analysis of 13 neighborhoods, including the business district, 3 Negro residential neighborhoods, 2 upper class white residential neighborhoods, 6 middle class white residential neighborhoods, and 1 lower class white residential neighborhood. The description of each neighborhood is given in terms of the historical development of that particular part of town, inasmuch as almost all of the population growth in the community has taken place since 1930.

Another fine analysis of neighborhoods in a small town of about 10,000 is available for Reidsville. Here 22 neighborhoods were delineated, first on a map with the aid of local residents, and then by driving around the community for some time. The result was 1 business district and another incipient business neighborhood, 4 upper class residential neighborhoods for whites, 6 middle class residential neighborhoods for whites, and 2 lower class residential neighborhoods for whites including a textile mill area, 2 upper class Negro residential neighborhoods, 5 middle class Negro residential neighborhoods, and 2 lower class Negro residential neighborhoods.

The dynamic aspects of the neighborhood structure of communities is well revealed in the Vicksburg survey:

The original residential section of the city was in the extreme northern portion almost on the river front. A few of the older families have maintained their homes in this neighborhood as the residential section has gradually moved south and southeast along the river. The colored population has not only gradually infiltrated behind the receding white population but has also preceded it in some instances by occupying the low sections of the city between the hills. The result is that today there is scarcely a square block in the city of Vicksburg which does not house both middle and upper class whites and Negroes.

These continual ecological changes in the neighborhood pattern of the community should be of concern to the church in its efforts to reach all parts of the community. Furthermore, many town churches have found themselves caught in the midst of these successive changes in neighborhood pattern with consequent decrease in value of church property, decrease in desirability of the church site, and decrease in church membership and attendance.

Looking now at the situation in a metropolitan center, the Nashville survey describes 16 different neighborhoods, 1 being the business section, 2 upper class residential sections, 6 middle class residential sections, 1 combination of middle class residential and industrial-commercial area, 5 slum residential neighborhoods, and 1 combination slum residential and industrial-commercial area. Negroes are of course found in large numbers in the slum residential neighborhoods and almost never live in the upper class residential areas. This survey is especially adequate in that for each neighborhood information is given on available parks, schools, libraries, churches, housing projects, movies, other recreational facilities, and community centers. The availability of these various facilities varies greatly in the different neighborhoods.

The neighborhood structure of Charleston was especially well delineated and is unusually revealing in many respects. Here the influence of topography and rivers is significant. Including two adjacent towns, a total of 31 neighborhoods was described in some detail. Of these, 5 are devoted to business and industry, 22 are white residential neighborhoods (4 upper class, 3 upper and middle class, 8 middle class, 7 lower class and sometimes slum), and 5 are Negro residential areas (2 upper class, 2 middle and lower class, 1 lower class slum). The importance of nationality background of the people in the white residential neighborhoods is indicated in several instances.

The way in which this type of ecological analysis of the community provides helpful understanding may be seen in an excerpt from the Charleston study:

Lower East Side is the neighborhood along the Elk River and running up to about Court Street on the east and Donnally Street on the north. It is predominantly low class residential with some slum residential streets.

While this was the original residential area of Charleston, it is now a depressed and blighted part of town. The once fine homes are now filled with low income tenants. The community was well developed with business and homes by 1900, but soon the process of deterioration took place. This decaying process has continued until at present the course appears to be changing toward some improvement. One reason for the abandonment of this area as high class residential was that part of it is subject to flooding, the movement of the homes being toward the higher ground on the east end.

The people here are mostly of American stock with a fairly large proportion of Assyrians. Probably more than half of the Assyrian population of the city lives here.

The population has changed appreciably in character during the years from 1900 to 1925, during which time the older residents moved out, leaving their homes to lower income families or the expansion of the business area displacing their buildings. For the next fifteen years the area deteriorated rapidly, seeing an influx of WPA and relief beneficiaries. Many shacks and house boats were built along the river bank where there is greatest exposure to flooding. This was the period of deepest depression for the section.

During this time it ranked highest in juvenile delinquency and was considered a very undesirable neighborhood. However, from 1940 to date, it has improved to some extent in appearance and even juvenile delinquency has decreased. This has been due in part to the following factors: demolition of

a number of slum-type houses for construction of Kanawha Boulevard and Washington Manor (slum clearance projects), purchase of some Elk River front property for a playground, and operation of a Boys and Girls Club.

The future prospects of this area are now brighter than they ever have been. The City Plan contemplates a boulevard and playground along the east bank of the Elk River and a civic center grouped around the present city and county buildings. With the advent of these buildings many of the present ones will be replaced by substantial structures for businesses and many of the shacks will be removed completely. The remainder of the area will probably remain low class residential because of the susceptibility to floods and lack of other more desirable living space.

The chief occupations of the present residents are manual labor, "junking," marginal and part-time work and in general the type of work found usually in low income groups. Many are relief and unemployment compensation recipients.

A contrasting neighborhood in Charleston is described as follows:

Edgewood is a hilly area above the West Side flat land. It is the location of the exclusive Edgewood Country Club and is high class residential. There is no business in the area. Along Edgewood Drive and on adjoining streets there are many fine homes.

The lower part of the section was subdivided about 1906, but there was practically no growth for about fifteen years. Since early 1920 there was rapid growth which has continued to the present time. The upper, more hilly part has now been developed although there are still some home sites.

The population is mainly of American stock, but a large proportion of the Jews in the city live here.

The area has become almost completely settled in the last twenty years. Comparatively speaking, there are only a few vacant lots left, those being on the more hilly part and they will not be accessible until roads are constructed. The population has increased in the last twenty years to a probable maximum at this time. The general age level is higher than the average for the city.

The indications for this community are for a stable future. It cannot grow much larger because of geographical limitations. Most of the homes are of substantial construction.

The residents are largely professionals (lawyers, doctors, etc.), business executives, and mine and lumber mill managers or owners.

Several of the surveys spotted the members of the selected Presbyterian church on a map showing neighborhoods. There seems to be a tendency for this Presbyterian membership to be concentrated in upper and middle class neighborhoods. As a result of the Greenville survey, the First Church is considering the need for sponsoring a new church in one of the rather recent residential developments located at some distance from any of the four existing Presbyterian churches.

One concludes that blanket statements concerning how good or how bad a community is as a place in which to live should be avoided. In almost all of the communities studied, there are definite neighborhoods with widely vary-

ing characteristics. These must be studied if one is to arrive at an understanding of the community. We turn now to a consideration of the outstanding social and economic problems facing the residents of these communities.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The preceding section on neighborhood structure made a beginning in answering the question, "What kind of places are these in which to live?" It is the purpose of this section to go more fully into this question and to analyze what were reported as the chief social and economic problems of the localities surveyed. In the suggested outline for the survey a number of possible problems and community needs were listed with the suggestion that the local survey committee decide which of these, if any, were most pressing in the community and therefore should be described in the study. There are of course great variations in the thoroughness with which this has been done in the several field studies. By and large, however, it has proved to be one of the most satisfactory parts of the survey in the ten communities.

Although New Madrid reported only one major social problem, the number of problems described for the remaining communities varies from five to eight. Those surveys which were most thoroughly done—including Franklin, Kilgore, Reidsville, Charleston, and Nashville—tended to have a large number of problems analyzed. In fact the Charleston study presented facts on 11 of the 12 problems listed by any of the communities, probably not because Charleston is especially characterized by problems but because of the penetrating nature and the completeness of its survey.

There follows a tabulation of the frequencies with which the social problems were reported in the ten surveys:

Poor housing	7
Lack of recreation	7
Poor health	7
Juvenile delinquency	7
Marital difficulties and broken homes	7
Inadequate education and poor school attendance	6
Adult crime and low morals	6
Adjustment of returning veterans	5
Racial and interfaith tension and discrimination	5
Low income	3
Labor relations	1

This rather wide variety of social problems for these ten communities is probably not far different from the situation in localities throughout the Nation.

Poor Housing. It is significant that in all of the communities of more than 5,000 population a shortage of housing is reported as a result of the war boom. This was not the situation in the four smallest communities. Here we have a reflection of what is perhaps the Nation's number one domestic problem with all of its human implications and relationships with other social problems.

Only in the six largest communities, ranging in population from 6,000 to 173,000, are slum conditions discussed. The open-country community of Brownsburg reported need for electricity in the homes of Negro families, but otherwise housing was not mentioned as a problem in the smaller communities. In Kilgore poor housing conditions have grown out of the oil boom development of the community, and the war has served to intensify the problem. In Vicksburg the ecological transitions between different types of neighborhoods have tended to intensify housing problems. The need for zoning is clearly demonstrated. The human implications of the housing problem are well stated in the Vicksburg survey:

The resulting housing situation may be briefly summed up as follows: (1) It has made for restlessness and insecurity among many people. In many cases the only way to get a home has been to buy what was previously rental property. As this has been done, a large number of renters have moved step by step from adequate housing to very inadequate housing, some having had as many as three and four homes sold out from under them. (2) It has meant that many of the most desirable prospective citizens have been lost to the community because they could not secure adequate housing. And even those who have been able to find places to live have had to pay such prices that they have had to forego many cultural opportunities that people in their position could ordinarily afford. (3) This constant moving from place to place has not only disrupted a large number of families, in some cases the wife going back to her people in another city, but also has reduced the efficiency of many workers and undermined their normal routine and hence their general morale. It has meant that many women who would normally be keeping a home have secured some type of work because they have no home to keep or are living with their parents. The situation as a whole is weighing on the social life and general attitude of the people in the community and has lowered the standard of living and the morale of the people.

The slum situation in a metropolitan center is described in the Nashville report:

Of those not needing major repairs 22.7 percent lack indoor bathing facilities, and within the city 26,589, or 58.8 percent of the houses, are listed as in need of major repairs or without indoor bathing facilities. This high percentage of residential structures in need of major repairs or without private baths is a particularly critical figure for a metropolitan center such as Nashville, for the large percentage of houses in the categories reported by this figure constitute not only a hazard to the physical well-being of the occupants but in addition present a health menace to the whole community indicating overcrowded conditions in the existing houses.

In Charleston a study of 38 blocks in 1935 revealed 861 dwelling units unfit for human habitation. In spite of the development of a federally sponsored slum clearance project in this area, 85 percent of these substandard units were still in use more than 10 years later. Four blighted neighborhoods are pointed out in Charleston as having especially poor housing conditions.

Slum conditions are of course much worse for Negroes in all of the communities. Only the three largest communities, Greenville, Charleston and Nashville, reported federal low-cost housing projects. It is evident that housing is one of the most serious problems facing urban communities in the South.

Lack of Recreation. Contrary to the situation in housing, lack of recreational facilities and programs is perhaps more serious in the smaller communities although it was discussed as a major problem in localities of various sizes up to the metropolitan center of Nashville. It is obviously one of the chief needs in the rural community of Brownsburg and in the small villages of Franklin and New Madrid. Especially in Brownsburg is recreation important in preventing the continued out-migration of the rural young people to urban centers. In New Madrid the need is for a supervised playground program, for a village park, and for special recreational programs for the teen-age group. Almost the same needs are listed for Franklin with special reference to the need for a swimming pool and for additional opportunity for the enjoyment of music, art, dramatics, and the like.

Another need which is common to most southern communities and which was listed by Franklin and Reidsville is a community center building which can serve recreational purposes in addition to other functions. Reidsville is working towards the establishment of a recreation center and swimming pool for Negroes.

In the larger cities recreational facilities are often fairly adequate; but, as is apparently the case in Nashville, the need is for supervised programs and for the development of additional lay and professional leadership. In Charleston there appears to be need for more effective coordination of numerous public and private recreational facilities and programs.

The Franklin survey concludes its discussion of recreation with the following paragraph:

Considering the natural advantages listed at the beginning of this discussion and the recreational minded citizens of the community as a whole, it is obvious that only a little initiative is needed to "start the ball rolling" for better recreational opportunities in the community. It will do much toward combating the restlessness of the youth in these difficult postwar days and will help materially to keep returned servicemen and other young people in their home communities. The community would realize as a result healthier people, fewer juvenile problems, less accidents from children playing in the street, enjoyment of leisure time and skills, and the development of better citizenship. Surely this should be challenging to the churches and to the civic organizations.

Poor Health. The extremely high rate of rejections by Selective Service in southern States has served to high-light the problem of poor health. Associated with low income and low educational levels, the health conditions of our people and the inadequate facilities and programs for improving health constitute a crucial problem in the southern region. It is not surprising that health is one of the most frequent community problems discussed in the surveys. As is true

of recreation, health seems to be a problem in communities of all sizes with rural areas having special difficulties in securing adequate health facilities and services. This latter point is mentioned especially in Franklin because it is situated in the midst of a rather sparsely populated mountain county. Since this community is located in that part of the country which is supplying most of the Nation's population increase and in which families are correspondingly very large, it is interesting to note that the county health department has a birth control clinic in operation. Infant health and maternal health are listed as the chief problems. Also there is the problem of communicable diseases in Franklin:

Communicable disease control is a problem which seems inevitable. The family feels little responsibility to report a communicable disease and often never has a physician to make a diagnosis unless a child becomes gravely ill. The child by that time has exposed all the neighbors. Then the physician, if called, is usually lax about reporting these diseases for fear he will offend the family.

Mansfield reports problems of communicable disease, sewage disposal, venereal disease, and health education. With Kilgore the chief health needs are nutrition and care of children. In Reidsville there is need for additional public health nurses, additional hospital facilities, and the consolidation of city and county health departments to eliminate duplicating services, to effect economy, and to improve professional standards. In Vicksburg venereal disease is reported as the outstanding problem. In Nashville there is a shortage of doctors, nurses, and hospital facilities. Quoting the Nashville study, other health problems become apparent:

Sanitation, including garbage collection and rat control, is an old problem that has been intensified by the increase in population. The typhus fever fight and the struggle to keep down infant mortality by proper garbage collection and a rat control program have never been too successful when the increase in population puts an extra burden on the sanitation department and intensifies an old problem.

Only two surveys mentioned problems of mental health and inadequate mental hygiene services although this is usually one of the most neglected areas in American communities.

It is obvious that physical and mental health is a serious problem in many of these communities. The chief needs can perhaps be summarized as additional public expenditure for health facilities and services and a well rounded community-wide health education program. Surely the church has much to offer in meeting these basic community needs.

Juvenile Delinquency. A primary concern of the church, of course, has always been with children and youth. There is ample evidence that the influence of the church through its religious education program may be effective in guiding the behavior of young people into constructive channels. However, in spite of the work being done by the church and by other institutions, juvenile delinquency has come to be recognized as a critical problem in America. It was

foreseen that the war would increase the seriousness of this problem, and in spite of numerous efforts to avoid it, such has been the result in many communities. For example, the peak in number of delinquency cases in Charleston was reached in 1945.

Seven of the ten communities discussed delinquency as a major problem. Often the role of the war in the increase in delinquency rates was pointed out. Mentioned also in several instances was the relationship between juvenile delinquency and other problems such as housing, lack of recreation, inadequate education, and broken homes.

Samples from several of the surveys give an indication of the nature of the problem. From Franklin:

Practically all of the delinquents come from the lower strata of society and from families of low mentality. A great majority of these families have inadequate income, very poor housing, and inadequate recreational opportunities. . . . So far as the delinquents in Macon County are concerned, only about five percent are church members and those attend church very irregularly. In the town of Franklin none of the delinquents brought before the juvenile court were church members or attend church even occasionally. . . . As has been said so many times, it is really the parents or guardians who are delinquent. Various cities throughout the nation are now following San Francisco's lead by sentencing the parents of juvenile delinquents to a series of lectures conducted by qualified persons and dealing with the solution to problems of young people. Here it seems would be an excellent opportunity for the church to help solve delinquency by pooling its qualified leaders and lecturers for classes for parents.

From Mansfield:

Due to the war and its influence on the homes, there is no doubt that juvenile delinquency will greatly increase in the near future unless every citizen tries to correct some of the problems giving rise to juvenile delinquency. We must expect, due to hasty marriages, that an increase in divorce will increase juvenile delinquency. There is need for a probation officer to work with the juvenile court.

From Kilgore:

In the Eastview neighborhood it was discovered that a boy in the fourth grade at school had not been home for four nights because he was afraid of his father. The father was given to beating the child who evidently spent the nights away from home in vacant lots. The boy has an older brother who is delinquent. Parental delinquency in this case is the problem rather than juvenile delinquency. Suggested causes of juvenile delinquency in Kilgore are: (1) lack of discipline and guidance by parents, (2) the Saturday midnight motion picture shows affording many boys and girls an opportunity of being out late at night, (3) inefficiency of truant officer, (4) carelessness of liquor bars in checking the ages of young boys, and (5) low income among some of the families.

From Reidsville:

The important question has to do with the causes and remedies of Reidsville's juvenile delinquency. The number of cases is not so great that a small, somewhat detailed analysis will be out of the question. A committee could, with the

help of the case worker and police officer most familiar with the city, discover: (1) the geographical concentration of the delinquents, (2) the play-groups or "gangs" with which delinquents are associated, (3) the presence of juvenile delinquents and adult offenders in the same family, (4) the existence of other social problems in the families of delinquents, and (5) the story of previous efforts to deal with the delinquents, their families, and their community environment. Such a study would furnish many clues for further action in the prevention and treatment of delinquency.

It is obvious that there is no other single problem facing communities which should be more important to the church than juvenile delinquency. It would also appear that the nature of the mission of the church, as well as its facilities and programs, indicates that the church should play a much more vital role in the prevention and treatment of delinquency than has been the case in the past.

Marital Difficulties and Broken Homes. This is the final of the five major social problems included by seven of the ten surveys. In one or two instances attention was focussed on the problem of homes broken by the death of either the husband or wife. Here the need was chiefly provision for child care. More often, however, the problem was that of homes being made unhappy or actually broken by marital difficulties between husband and wife. The studies in Franklin, Mansfield, and Greenville pointed out alarming increases in divorce during the war years, ranging from 33 to 50 percent increase in Mansfield and 50 to 75 percent increase in Greenville.

Causes for marital difficulties were listed in the Franklin survey as follows: "Inadequate income, poor housing, bad physical health and insufficient medical care, poor mental health, inadequate recreational opportunities, and insufficient education." From Reidsville comes the following suggestion:

Without losing sight of this objective, it should be realized that the role of the professional (case worker) is limited and that voluntary action and services are essential to the solution of such (marital) problems. Something more than "professional" case work and "professional" recreation programs is needed if Reidsville is to *cure* rather than merely *treat* the problems noted here. Some deep, basic thinking is indicated: some fundamental examination of the social structure of the community, some searching into common prejudices and prejudices, some soul stirring challenges. Here indeed is a job in which the church can lose itself and perhaps find itself.

The problem of unstable family organization was found to be quite prevalent among Negro families in several of the communities.

Inadequate Education and Poor School Attendance. Six of the communities reported this to be one of their major social problems. In general, education seemed to be viewed as a problem only in the smaller communities. In the rural community of Brownsburg the chief need is to keep pupils enrolled longer in school. Franklin needs a new school building and the survey devotes considerable space to discussion of poor school attendance, the causes of which are outlined as follows:

During the first seven months of the school year 1945-46 over half of the absences in the Franklin Elementary School District was caused by contagious diseases. . . . The unfavorable attitudes of a few parents can increase absences appreciably. . . . There were only 62 absences caused by truancy. . . . Weather conditions affect school attendance greatly. . . . Comparatively few children are absent on account of essential work at home.

Mansfield reports need for a larger campus for the high school and a renovation of the building. A shortage of teachers and low salaries are indicated as basic causes for inadequate education. In Kilgore it appears that the development of additional facilities has lagged somewhat behind the mushrooming growth of the community since 1930. Relative to school attendance the Kilgore study has this to say:

The attendance in schools of both races was rather poor. This was due to several causes. Roads were made almost impassable over the school district by oil field operations. Schoolrooms were poorly equipped and in many cases the families involved were whipped in the economic struggle for existence.

Reidsville lists the following educational needs: a truant officer, a visiting teacher, a better vocational training program, a child guidance clinic, and more adequate financial support for the public library. School attendance, especially at the secondary school level, is a serious problem in Charleston.

Along with the family and the church, the school is generally thought of as one of the most important social institutions. Certainly education is today recognized as of utmost importance in a democracy. Yet we in the South, partially because of inadequate financial resources, have done much more poorly than the rest of the country in supporting the schools. There is need also for the church to consider carefully the matter of its relationships to the public schools in the field of religious education.

Adult Crime and Low Morals. This problem was discussed in six of the surveys. Extensive statistics are reported for Reidsville and Charleston on the incidence of various types of offense. About arrests for drunkenness, the Reidsville study has this to say:

Drunkenness is by far the most common offense for which Reidsville police make arrests. . . . Drunkenness is a social disease reflecting not only the craving for alcohol but some kind of breakdown in the individual, who somehow fails to get enough genuine satisfaction from life and thus resorts to the counterfeit satisfaction of excessive drinking. Whether economic security, family solidarity, or neighborly friendliness can be brought to such individuals in an effective and continuous fashion is a problem worth considering. . . . Is it possible to work for the prevention of drunkenness? Can a community provide case-work services, jobs, personal friendship, and social activity which will deal effectively with this problem?

Mansfield reported a noticeable increase in crime rates for 1945 over 1940 due to the war situation. Kilgore made the point that crime is a problem especially in Negro neighborhoods. In legally dry Mississippi, Vicksburg is

reported to have the worst liquor traffic in the State. The town is "wide open" with little effort being made to restrict sale of liquor even to minors. Gambling is also said to be openly promoted in the city. Another point for which this river town is famous is its high venereal disease rate, a problem accentuated by the presence of many service men in the area during the war. From Nashville comes word that prostitution is a major community problem. Law enforcement is reported to be woefully lax in Charleston.

The church has much the same preventive role to play in crime as in juvenile delinquency. A positive, aggressive program on the part of religion has done much to decrease crime and corruption in many communities throughout the Nation.

Adjustment of Returning Veterans. This problem, born of America's participation in World War II, was reported by five communities. From Vicksburg comes an interesting analysis of types of veterans who most frequently have problems of adjustment:

In many instances they were young husbands, married just prior to going into service or after actually entering the service. A second group were those who entered service as teen-agers from their first or second year in college or at the time they should have entered college. A third and definitely smaller group was comprised of those who had been officers and who returned to established homes, mature families, and permanent jobs.

Causes of problems of adjustment on the part of veterans are analyzed in the Kilgore survey:

The difficulties experienced by the able-bodied veteran which hinder his rapid adjustment to the community and cause irritation, restlessness, and dissatisfaction are as follows: failure of agencies to function properly, lack of trained personnel in the agencies, multiplicity of agencies with duplication of efforts. This local pattern is repeated throughout the State and Nation. In addition to these difficulties, many veterans are constantly irritated at the greatest problem of all—where and how to find a decent home for himself and his family. No one can work efficiently, or think dispassionately, if he has to carry with him this constant reminder that this basic daily need of his family is unmet.

In addition to the problem of housing, satisfactory employment for veterans was mentioned as a need in Vicksburg, psychological problems of veterans in Kilgore, problems of marital adjustment of veterans in Nashville, and unemployment, housing, and mental breakdown in Charleston. The Franklin study concludes its section on veterans' adjustment with the following: "The church could be of great assistance to the veteran by offering wholesome recreation. There is also need in this community for additional staff to provide consultative services to veterans." The Charleston study cites three ways in which the church can assist veterans: (1) by acting as a friendly counsellor—a civilian chaplain to veterans with troubles; (2) by convincing its members of the necessity of

registering available jobs with the unemployment office; (3) by helping in the adjustment of war brides.

Racial and Interfaith Tension and Discrimination. In only two of the ten communities is friction between religious groups mentioned as a problem. In Vicksburg a sizeable Catholic following has not resulted so much in overt friction as in an absence of cooperation between Protestant and Catholic groups. This is felt to have been a handicap in the religious development of the community. Prejudice against the relatively few Jewish people in Vicksburg is also reported.

In the textile center of Greenville the rise of certain premillennialist sects such as Church of God, the Holiness Church and others, has been a phenomenon of outstanding interest and importance. It is significant that the largest church building in the Greenville metropolitan area is a Church of God. This church uses buses and a loud speaker to assist in corralling people to Sunday school and church services. A jazz band entertains from the pulpit, and the writer has actually witnessed the pastor lead the congregation in fifteen rousing rhaps for Jesus! This type of religion seems to be meeting a need of the laboring classes in Greenville, and the growth of these sects has been amazing. It is revealing to quote at length on this point from the Greenville survey:

For a period of over twenty years the increase in the textile industry in the Piedmont area with the corresponding concentration of mill people into towns and villages has attracted the leaders of the more extreme offshoots from the regular denominations. The masses have been drawn into the Church of God, the Church of Christ, the Pentecostal, and others. Certain trends have been noted by thoughtful churchmen and interpreted as stages in this movement in Greenville.

First stage: Evangelists came to the city for a series of independent meetings. Entire congregations were swept into these services.

Second stage: Within the decade schools of religion developed, usually teaching some one point of view to the neglect of others, as the premillennial doctrine.

Third stage: A few years later splits into two Baptist and two Presbyterian churches followed in close succession based on this premillennial issue.

Fourth stage: A more modern and popular development is to use radio broadcasting facilities which serve to keep old issues before the people and to secure new followings.

Fifth stage: The latest development, an institutionalization of these sects, is exemplified by the recent removal of the Bob Jones College from Cleveland, Tennessee, to Greenville.

In view of the fact that the problem of race relations has been aptly termed "an American dilemma" and in view of the importance of the Negro in southern population, it is surprising and perhaps revealing that only three communities—Kilgore, Charleston, and Nashville—reported this to be a major community problem. The attitude in an early meeting of one of the local survey committees was definitely that one should let sleeping dogs lie and that the less said

about race relations in southern communities the better. There seemed to be real tension and a fear that the lid might blow off at any time, and yet the committee did not select race relations as one of its problems for discussion. Quoting the Charleston study: "There is a definite tendency to avoid the race question and deny its existence, rather than bring it into open, healthy discussion." How often this was true in the survey committees of other communities we do not know.

However, we do know that the rapidly rising educational level of the Negro, the efforts of the New Deal to make democracy apply more widely throughout the Nation, recent rulings of the United States Supreme Court, and more especially the very principles for which the recent war was fought, have all combined to make the Negro less willing to accept the position assigned to him by the dominant white group. The techniques and results of racial discrimination throughout the South, and for that matter throughout the country, are too well known to require documentation here. In a region in which the church is as important in the lives of the people as is true in the South, it may be that through religion and the church lies one of our greatest hopes for the improvement of race relations.

Such groups as the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen have already faced this problem realistically, and there is a nucleus of religious leaders in the South who have a forward-looking point of view in this respect. It is perhaps significant that the Catholic Church, in its drive to extend its membership in this region, has taken liberal positions relative to race relations, permitting Negro membership and participation in the same churches as whites. This position of the Catholic Church is backed by a strong Papal encyclical on the subject.

While recognizing race tension as a serious problem, the Kilgore study reports the following interracial activities designed to further more constructive race relations:

The students in the high schools of both races have on occasions appeared in auditorium programs in the other high school. It was noticeable in the last appearance of the Negro choral group in the white school auditorium that the students gave the visitors a rousing welcome and evidenced their pleasure with the program rendered. The Negro football team uses the lighted field of the white high school for all its games. Construction of shower and locker facilities for the Negro teams will begin when materials are available.

From Nashville, a recognized center of leadership in Negro education, comes the following:

There has been and is still some friction and tension between the colored and white population. The police are not going to let Negro veterans and soldiers think they can do in the South what they do up North.

It is generally recognized that prejudice in the field of race relations becomes a part of one's being through the many subtle influences of family, play groups, and the like. Certainly experiences in school are important in determining racial attitudes. Race prejudice can be mitigated by experiences in Sunday

school and other church activities if our religious leadership desires that this should be so. We know of an interesting teaching project in a daily vacation Bible school in which the primary objective was the development of fair and objective attitudes on the part of white children toward Negroes. One is often surprised at the lack of prejudice among very young children. Here is the time when attitudes of tolerance and justice can most effectively be developed. This high-lights the important role which the church school can play in this area of tension in the South.

Low Income. The spring of 1946 found most of these communities enjoying the continuation of the war boom with the results of impending inflation not yet being felt in serious proportions. Perhaps this is why only three communities discussed low income as a problem. It is significant that two of these three are the most rural of all the communities—Brownsburg and Franklin. In the former the problem is that of low farm income with a lack of industrialization to provide a diversified economy for the community. Reliance upon agriculture alone, except under the most favorable conditions, does not provide a stable economic base for a community. The situation of Brownsburg is duplicated by hundreds of rural communities throughout the South. Low farm income is a problem in Franklin also, but here the community is fortunate in having several industries to provide a diversified economy. In the urban community of Charleston the inadequacy of unemployment compensation and general relief grants to unemployables is reported as the chief economic problem.

Labor Relations. One of the most significant findings in this summary of the community surveys is that only two communities devoted space to a discussion of labor relations. Now this fact may be open to several interpretations. It may be that southern communities, as typified in these ten, are an oasis for labor organization and everything is rosy. Were this so, however, it would hardly have been necessary for both the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. to initiate highly publicized organizing drives in the region in early 1946. As is well known, the South has come late and slowly to the labor movement.

Another explanation of this failure of more of the surveys to include labor relations as a community problem may be that the communities—management, labor, and citizens in general—are welcoming the current drive of the labor unions. In Charleston labor organization is reported to be quite general with labor-management relations amicable. But we know this is not generally the case in the lower South. The wide extension of labor organization throughout the region appears inevitable, but it can be safely predicted that it will not be accomplished without considerable friction.

Some might wonder whether all the facts were in when the Greenville study reported: "The relationship between labor and capital in the Greenville mills is largely one of mutual confidence." The writer had occasion to be in rather close contact for several years with leaders of both management and organized labor in Greenville. The situation could hardly be characterized as one of "mutual confidence." Recent conversations with people in current touch with

developments indicate that tension is even higher now. It is probable, of course, that the term "labor" as used in the quotation above did not refer to "organized labor" since the majority of textile workers in the Greenville area are not union members. But handwriting on the wall seems to indicate clearly that in the future it will be organized labor with which management must reckon.

The more probable reasons for this blind spot in the surveys (at least, a blind spot as interpreted by the writer) are that local pastors and the survey committees in those communities with a substantial amount of industry (Kilgore, Reidsville, Greenville, Nashville) either (a) are oblivious to the rising tensions between management and labor, or (b) share the points of view of the heretofore dominant managerial group which would not consider prejudices against organized labor to constitute a community problem. In either event the explanation may lie in the fact that the Presbyterian church studied in each of these communities has as its chief constituency the middle and upper classes rather than the laboring group.

Here again the stand of the Catholic Church in relation to organized labor in its drive to extend Catholicism in the South is worthy of note. Backed by a very liberal encyclical from the Pope, the Catholic Church at times is aligning itself with organized labor. With the current and anticipated industrialization of the region, this fact may have significant implications for Protestant denominations.

* * * *

One may conclude that these ten communities, taken all in all, are probably no better and no worse than southern communities in general. Most of the residents undoubtedly have pride in their home town and think it is a pretty good place in which to live. More careful analysis, however, reveals that we have few Gardens of Eden in the South or elsewhere in the country for that matter. Even those who feel that they *know* their community are often surprised when the facts relative to social and economic problems are laid bare.

In reading those parts of the studies which deal with neighborhood structure and community problems, one is struck by several points: (1) There are many facts which a church must have in order to understand its community. (2) Given these facts, there is great opportunity for the church to assist in meeting the revealed needs. (3) All social and economic problems are closely inter-related; there are no single causes of community problems. (4) Variations in size and type of community result in different kinds of neighborhood structure and to some extent in different types and varying intensity of community problems. This fact emphasizes the importance of attention to community understanding in training programs for the ministry and for religious education, as well as in programs and materials for religious education. (5) Most of the survey committees seemed to gloss over the more controversial community problems such as race relations and labor relations. One is led to believe that such may be the dominant point of view of the Presbyterian churches studied and to wonder what this portends for the leadership role of the church in this region during the next few decades.

Chapter 11

THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY AGENCIES

CHAPTER 10 has discussed the quality of living in our selected southern communities. To some extent it has emphasized the seamy side of these localities. It has pointed out the nature of some of the pressing human needs and at times has suggested that the conditions perhaps present a challenge to the church.

However, the church is only one of a great many agencies which the residents of these communities have set up to assist in meeting their needs. Leaders in the church, bent upon seeing that their institution takes a vital part in community development, must first of all have a thorough understanding of the many other agencies, both public and private, which are part of the social structure of the community. Some of these agencies have a legal responsibility for meeting particular community needs, while others depend upon boards of lay citizens to establish policies governing their programs. All are intent upon improving the community as a place in which to live. The church, as one of the most important of these many agencies, must determine its role in meeting community needs in terms of what other agencies are doing.

The agency profile of a rural community tends to be much less complex than that in a large urban center. However, a recent study in Greenville County, South Carolina, discovered more than fifty agencies and organized groups attempting to serve the rural population. In a metropolitan center the number of agencies may run to several hundred. Also there is considerable difference in the types of agencies found in rural and urban communities. For example, the eight agencies discussed in the Brownsburg survey are not included in the studies of any of the larger communities in this project. Due to the differences between rural and urban societies, and more especially between agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, a number of special types of agencies have been created to meet the needs of rural people.

The problem of the church, then, becomes one of determining what agencies are active in the community, what needs each of these agencies is attempting to meet, how the church can assist these agencies in doing a better job, and finally what residual needs remain which are of such nature that the church may attempt to meet them.

TYPES OF AGENCIES

In the study of the rural community of Brownsburg, the agencies reported were only those which operated within the community area as such, excluding those set up on a county-wide basis such as the farm demonstration agent, the home demonstration agent, the health department, the board of education, and the welfare department. Also excluded were certain federal agencies probably active in the community, such as the Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Security Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, and others.

The local agencies reported were as follows: Parent-Teachers Association, Future Home Makers, Future Farmers of America, Junior Farmers, Home Demonstration Club, Ruritan Club, the community center, and the school community cannery.

The Nashville survey presents a good analysis of the type of agencies found in a metropolitan center:

There are sufficient organizations for the maintenance and supervision of relief and assistance for the unemployed, the unemployable, and the aged, both in their homes and in institutions; also the blind, the transient, children from broken homes with relatives, foster homes, and institutions.

There are also sufficient agencies for diagnosis and treatment through generalized case work and juvenile and adult probation. There are not sufficient professional workers in these organizations, and there is need for better trained case workers and for specialized case workers for children and for institutions, both penal and correctional; also in the State hospitals for mental diseases and mental defectives. There is need furthermore for psychiatric social work services.

The informal education-recreation agencies and services in the city are sufficient and are staffed with well-trained workers. These agencies are concerned not alone with social adjustment but with the creative and cultural opportunities that leisure time affords. The general recreation service through parks, playgrounds, public swimming pools, etc., is sufficient as far as facilities are concerned, but more emphasis is needed on the quality and training of the leadership, although there has been a decided upward trend in this whole education-recreation area due to the efforts of the Council of Community Agencies, the Federation of Settlements, and the local chapter of the Association of Leisure Time Educators.

The medical care program including home care, outpatient care and hospitalization (care of chronics, convalescents, and children) is sufficient for the population today. There have been increased facilities to take care of the increased population.

The preventive health program in Nashville is good on such common services as laboratory and vital statistics on the prevention and control of communicable disease, including reporting, reference to hospital, instruction, nursing care, and immunization. The promotion of hygiene of the individual covers maternal health clinics, obstetrical service, field nursing for prenatal care and for infants. There is need for more public health nurses. The school hygiene program is excellent and covers daily observation by teachers, health examinations, referral of children to doctors, health instruction, and control of sanitation of school buildings. The venereal disease control program has gotten a good start.

The sanitation program and the food and milk control program of the city are good but need coordination with the county program and integrated supervision under one head. This includes water and swimming pool inspection, meat inspection, milk supply control, control of food handlers and eating establishments, sewage disposal, etc.

There follows a sampling of some of the different agencies discussed in the urban surveys:

American Red Cross
Boy and Girl Scouts
Cancer Society
Chamber of Commerce
Children's Home Society
Community Chest
Community Foundation
Council of Social Agencies
County Youth Council
Crippled Children's Clinic
Day Nursery or Kindergarten
Family Service Agency
General Hospital
Health Department
Home for the Aged
Junior Chamber of Commerce
Junior League
Junior Police
Juvenile Court
Lions Club
Maternal Care Home
Medical Social Service Department of a Hospital
Orphan's Home
Park Commission
Police Department
Program of Bible Teaching in Public Schools
Public Library
Public Schools
Recreation Department or Commission
Salvation Army
Save the Children Federation
School Health Services
Social Settlement
Teen-age Club
Travelers Aid Society
Tuberculosis Association
Union Mission
United States Employment Service
Veterans' Housing Authority
Veterans' Service Office
Visiting Nurses Association
Visiting Teacher Service
Welfare Department
Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

The chief significance in this listing of agencies reported in the selected communities is the wide variety which it presents. Furthermore, it should be em-

phasized that in none of these communities does the survey present anything like a complete roster of community agencies. In fact it may be safely said that not half of the agencies are here recorded.

The number of agencies discussed in each community also shows considerable variation, due in part to differences in size and complexity of the community and depending also upon the thoroughness with which the surveys were accomplished. The communities are here listed in order of size, from smallest to largest, with an indication of the number of agencies reported for each:

Brownsburg	8	Reidsville	21
Franklin	6	Vicksburg	8
Mansfield	5	Greenville	5
New Madrid	2	Charleston	32
Kilgore	7	Nashville	16

It is obvious that in each community a selection of only a relatively few sample agencies was made for the purpose of individual agency analysis. The local survey committee, however, with a few exceptions has made a start toward the job of discovering and analyzing the programs of the various community agencies established to meet the needs of the citizens. It should be repeated again that this is a first step for any church concerned about engaging in more definite activity in community improvement.

USE OF VOLUNTEERS BY AGENCIES

In a more simple type of society human needs are met informally by individuals with a minimum of social organization. As American communities have become larger and more complex in social structure, more and more functions have been assumed by formal agencies and there has been an increasingly greater tendency toward reliance upon professional services. In an age of complexity and science, this is as it should be. Individual and church charity, without proper community clearance, should be a thing of the past.

There are still opportunities, however, for individuals and for the church to express charitable sentiments through supervised volunteer service of a great many sorts. The recent war indicated the potential power of the services of volunteers in America with approximately five million citizens mobilized for protective services and more than three million active in voluntary civilian war services designed to strengthen the home front. It has already become obvious that social agencies will not let this important resource of volunteers be dissipated entirely. Many communities are establishing volunteer service bureaus to coordinate the extensive mobilization and placement of volunteers.

Agencies have learned that there are several values in the use of volunteers. Not as frequently as formerly does the professional director of an agency take the position that "Volunteers get in your hair and are more trouble than they are worth." Besides rendering valuable services, if proper training and supervision are provided, the volunteer who has a satisfactory experience in connection with an agency's program becomes one of that agency's most enthusi-

astic supporters. The role of volunteers in informing the community concerning an agency's program and needs is now generally recognized. However, it should be emphasized that the use of volunteers is not a simple matter to be taken lightly by the staff of an agency. Volunteers must be assigned to jobs for which they are suited and for which they have been given the requisite training. And, finally, volunteers must be properly oriented to the agency and must be carefully supervised.

There follows a summary of information obtained in the surveys concerning the types of jobs at present assigned to volunteers by different agencies.

American Red Cross

Typist; file clerk; case worker; disaster services; production program; board member; committee chairman; various volunteer corps; communicating with people in an emergency.

Day Nursery

Story telling.

Education Department

Improving attendance; improving playground facilities; improving health activities; leadership in P.T.A.; leaders in character building activities.

Family Service Society

Board member; committee member.

Health Department

Assistance in clinic; financial drives (T.B. and crippled children); assistance in epidemics; financial aid for clinics; assistance in operation of clinics; assistance in school health program; volunteer jobs for T.B. Association; educational programs; financial aid to needy families in poor health; assistance in communicable disease control by removing "contacts."

Hospitals

Serving as assistants.

Junior League

Assisting in clinics; board member; placement of volunteers in other agencies.

Library

Assistance in operation of library.

Orphan's Home and Children's Home Society

Sewing and mending; showing motion pictures; teaching.

Parent-Teacher Association

Assistance in programs; helping to raise money; assistance in improving school grounds; donation of playground equipment.

Recreation Programs

Chaperoning at teen-age canteen; general support of teen-age canteen; serving as board member; public interpretation of recreation needs.

Salvation Army

Member of advisory board.

Scouting

Member of troop committee; scout master; assistant scout master; merit badge counselors; program consultants; assistance in financial campaigns.

Travelers Aid Society

Board member; assistance at intake desks.

Tuberculosis Association

Assistance in financial drives; assisting in X-ray clinics; board member.

Veterans' Service Office

Adviser to veterans.

Welfare Department

Assistance in surveys; handling general relief cases and children's problems; finding work for paroled prisoners; board member.

Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

Camp leader; board member; committee member; athletic coach; official of athletic games; adviser to youth groups; leader of youth clubs; membership promotion.

The above listing of types of volunteer jobs in the various agencies represents only a sampling of the sorts of services which citizens can render on a volunteer basis. The vagueness with which the agencies often stated these volunteer opportunities is possibly an indication that they have not yet given too much thought to this matter. It may be that stimulation on the part of churches, together with an indication that the churches are willing to assist, may result in increased use of volunteers by some of the agencies. Another point growing out of this listing is the frequency with which financial assistance is mentioned. This is to be expected and is of course in line with the teaching of the church that it is better to give than to receive. However, it behooves each community to look at its general fund raising policies and procedures. In communities of any size it has been found advantageous to coordinate private fund raising in some such organization as a community chest. Regardless of the methods of fund raising employed, the churches can undoubtedly make a larger contribution along this line.

WHAT THE AGENCIES SAY ABOUT ASSISTANCE FROM THE CHURCHES

It is probable that most agencies in a community have not given much thought to how churches can be of more assistance in the different agency programs. The matter of church-community relationships therefore should be viewed as a reciprocal problem with responsibility for improvement resting upon both the agencies and the churches. In the surveys, the different agencies were asked to state their views on how the churches are helping or could help more effectively. There follows a summary of this information:

American Red Cross

Use of church plant; assistance in financial drive; assistance in home service program; interpretation to the community; interpretation to the church membership; referral of potential volunteer leaders.

Chamber of Commerce

Assistance in increasing membership and financial support of Chamber; assistance in youth program; cooperation in services for returning veterans.

Children's Home Society

Financial support.

Council of Social Agencies

Community-wide interpretation; church leaders to serve on the Council; speakers; distribution of literature.

County Youth Council

Assistance in provision of recreational programs for youth; parental training courses; marriage courses; assistance in extending the Council's membership.

Day Nursery

Donations of food, clothing, bedclothes; help with building repairs; summer camp scholarships; financial assistance.

Education Department

A church committee to work with the school board and P.T.A. on spiritual needs at present unmet by the schools; moral support; use of church plant for out-of-school activities.

Family Service Society

Interpretation to the public.

Health Department

Reporting health problems; interpretation of the health program; reporting cases needing attention; cooperation in health education programs; assistance to needy families in poor health; use of health speakers before church groups; assistance in community-wide planning for health improvement.

Library

Assistance in securing materials; Sunday School teacher could check out supplementary reading materials for class use; cooperation in Religious Book Week through preparation of book reviews and news features; request bibliographies on subjects for study by church groups; church-library committee to inform church members regarding the services of the library; assistance in the story hour for children; support for more adequate financial appropriations.

Parent-Teacher Association

Assistance in getting more parents interested; announcements in the church bulletin.

Recreation Programs

Participation in planning an integrated community-wide recreation program; developing and furnishing volunteer leadership; use of church plant; item for recreation in church budget; pressure on Recreation Board to secure support for adequate facilities; cooperation in all programs; interpretation of recreation needs to the community.

Salvation Army

Advice on general program; financial support; donation of linens.

Save the Children Federation

Financial support.

Scouting

Use of church plant; provision of volunteer leaders; financial support; sponsoring of troops; assistance in annual fund drive.

Travelers Aid Society

Interpretation to the public; referral of persons needing services.

Tuberculosis Association

Assistance in financial drive; interpretation to the public.

Veterans' Service Office

Interpretation of problems and needs of veterans; provision of a community recreation program; liaison committees to guide veterans to appropriate agencies.

Welfare Department

Provision of recreational facilities; referral of needy or delinquent cases; visits by minister to aged or physically incapacitated; a youth recreation program; donation of used clothing for the needy; acceptance of referral of cases to the church for some specific purpose; channeling of the charity program of the church through professional welfare agencies.

Y.M.C.A and Y.W.C.A.

The fuller use by the church of the facilities and programs of the "Y" rather than independent development of other programs by the church; support of the "Y" program for the entire community; use of church plant; financial contributions; advice on worship hours in youth groups.

Data in the Nashville survey were reported in such form that they could not be tabulated according to agencies. However, it presents a rather unusual list of ways in which Nashville agencies think that the churches might assist them:

From the point of view of these agencies and services, the churches of Nashville do or could help their programs in the following ways: (1) financial support; (2) volunteer service; (3) buy Christmas gifts; (4) recruit foster parents; (5) interpret program to their respective communities; (6) furnish friendly contacts; (7) furnish spiritual guidance; (8) interpret the need of the community for such service as the agencies offer; (9) make it possible for boys and girls to attend camp; (10) supply children's books, toys, crayons, paper; (11) collecting children's clothes; (12) volunteer special or regular leaders; (13) publicize the agency or service; (14) organize service from the different denominations more adequately to meet the spiritual needs of patients in hospitals and institutions; (15) sponsor troops and drives; (16) place in the church budget an item to cover small breakage and damage in use of building; (17) use of building and facilities; (18) specific program consultants and guides; (19) community churches; (20) minister can emphasize the social Gospel of Jesus giving the practical application to His principles; (21) teachers of Bible; (22) assistants in own extension program; (23) become informed as to the policies of the agencies and services; (24) moral support; (25) use of the minister for special service.

It is apparent that the replies of the agencies to this question of how the churches can best render assistance are characterized by considerable vagueness. Much more thought needs to be given to this matter by both the agencies and

the churches. There does seem to be considerable evidence, however, that the agencies need three general types of assistance which most churches are able to provide. These would be the use of the church plant, assistance in securing financial support, and participation by the church in interpretation of the program and needs of the agency. All three of these methods of assistance would seem to be in line with the philosophy of most churches. Perhaps opportunities for church participation are most frequent in the fields of recreation and welfare.

* * * *

To summarize, we may conclude that the church must determine its role in community development in the light of the successes and failures which many other agencies are making in their efforts to meet human needs. Rather than operating in a social vacuum, the church is part of a dynamic and complex social structure of its community. It can effectively determine its course only with full cognizance of this over-all community picture.

There are indications that neither agencies nor churches have given sufficient attention to the problem of how churches can assist in community development. However, hopeful beginnings have been made by many churches. The suggested outline for the surveys called for a section on The Church and Community Problems. Here it was hoped that a brief description would be given of ways in which the church has been active in meeting the various community problems discussed in the previous chapter. Perhaps because not too much is being done or perhaps for other reasons, the surveys have proven to be generally weak in this section. One of the best treatments of the topic is that done for Vicksburg, and it is quoted here in its entirety:

First, we may say that the churches have done more singly with their individual members than they have on a cooperative basis. Churchmen as private citizens encouraged by their churches have banded together in such groups as the Warren County Youth Council and the City Housing Authority to combat some of these problems.

This particular church has not been able to do much about housing. Several of its members have served on various committees in the community. An effort has been made, through the church office, to secure temporary quarters for newcomers and people who have had their rented homes sold.

In regard to recreation the church has provided facilities and leadership for Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, young people's organizations, young adult groups, and to a very limited extent for the single and young married groups. It also has a fellowship group of about 100 men meeting once each month. The church building has been made available to all groups within the church and occasionally to outside groups for entertainments and recreation events. There has been no effort to provide recreation or amusement facilities for those outside the church.

Dealing largely, but not entirely, with service men, the church seems to have been very successful in helping them with their adjustments. An extensive counseling program has been carried on by the pastor and elders in assisting veterans in their home and business adjustments. Through a close association with the wives of servicemen, while the men were overseas, contacts were built

up with the home which paid dividends when the men returned. Many of their problems were brought to the church where they were solved before they became too large, or else they were referred to the proper social agency for information and assistance.

One of the efforts made in assisting these men to adjust was the receiving of them wholeheartedly into the life and leadership of the church. Though most of them at present have been back hardly six months, one-third of the church officers are veterans as are nearly all the officers of the Men's Club and the male leaders in the Sunday school and other organizations. A careful survey shows that a large proportion, between 70 and 80 percent, are regular church attenders and are taking some part in church activities.

The church has made an effort all during the war, and since, to alleviate racial and religious tension. There has been a good deal of education and frank facing of these problems to the end that many members of the church are serving in interracial and interfaith capacities.

While the church has not directly entered the fight against gambling and liquor traffic, it has assisted in giving its support to a new city administration and other movements which are counted on to counteract these community problems.

From this description of the activities of the Vicksburg Church one can see the possibilities of effective church participation in community development. Much more undoubtedly remains to be done. It is to be hoped that church leaders, agency directors, and specialists in community organization will give careful thought to this matter. Frontier developments in both policy and methods still remain to be worked out in the area of church-community relationships.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CHURCH

It will be recalled that one of the objectives of this project was to start a process of church revitalization in relation to community needs in the selected Presbyterian churches. We could easily set forth what seem to us to be the implications of the survey findings for the several churches. But this would not be a measure of the extent to which the survey experience has been meaningful to church leaders. There would be no assurance that anything has resulted from the project.

Another alternative, and the one decided upon, was to suggest that the local survey committee determine the implications of the findings for the church. This process, it was believed, would serve as a step in readying some of the church leaders for the important task of follow-up. In general, the survey committees or those locally in charge of the study took this responsibility seriously. The concluding sections of the reports are believed to be significant, and it seems advisable to reproduce portions of them at this point.

WHAT THE SURVEY COMMITTEES SAY

Brownsburg:

The future growth of the community will be definitely related to education and the establishment of a diversified economy. In the past few decades the population has been on the decline. This will likely continue. There are two ways in which the community may grow, both of which are based on having a well planned educational program in the community which is attended by the masses. These two possibilities are: first, changes from an extensive to an intensive type of farming as has been done in some of the nearby counties; and, second, the organizing of small local businesses for handling or processing the agricultural products of the community. Since this is a one-church community, it would seem that the church should take the lead in studying the possibilities of each of these. New Providence Church cannot hope to hold its place of leadership in its denomination or in this area unless it sees to it that its community is a progressive, live, wide-awake place in which to live.

There is no conflict between the church and any other agency in the community. This is perhaps the brightest spot in the results shown in this study. There are, however, possibilities of more positive cooperation with these agencies. Since there has been cooperation in the past between the church and all other organizations, it would seem that there would be little opposition should the church take an active part in advancing the cause of these worthwhile agencies of which there are a sufficiently great number for a rural community. Along with this the above educational program could be gradually developed.

The church membership probably reached its peak some years ago when its total was about 770 members. The gradual decrease in membership is probably due to these reasons: First, no additional homes are being built in the community

since there are no new jobs becoming available. Second, practically all houses have fewer children than they held 20 to 25 years ago, since the trend to smaller families is present here as elsewhere, although perhaps to a less degree. Third, in this community the trek from the farms to the towns and cities is perhaps greater than in many other rural communities. Official figures of April 1, 1946 show 688 members. At last count 152 were permanently gone in addition to the men in the armed services. Many of those whose names are on the church roll and are non-resident members do not play an active part in the church organization. These have been advised to transfer their membership to a church in the community in which they are living. In other words, the chief hope of the New Providence Church seems not that of "lengthening the cords" but of "strengthening the strands."

Franklin:

Our church could help meet community needs through church expansion. It should have a building where young people could hold their meetings and parties, and engage in sports. A large, simple room with facilities for serving refreshments, for playing table tennis, and singing around a piano would suffice. Outside courts for tennis, badminton, horseshoes, and shuffleboard would be nice.

There should be a leader of young people's work in the Church, who should be responsible for daily vacation Bible school.

All the churches should be cooperating more with the schools in cutting down juvenile delinquency by providing wholesome activities to fill after-school hours.

We have been doing and can continue to do a fine work in assisting a small Sunday school five miles out of town. This reaches about twenty children.

The church should give encouragement and financial help to young people to get them to attend young people's conferences, and should give financial aid to worthy students who are unable to pay all their own college expenses.

The mental and moral health of a community is best where the people are actively working in their churches. Therefore our Church can improve the community's mental and moral health by becoming more vital in the lives of its members and requiring more activity from them.

New Madrid:

It is plain from the survey that the Presbyterian Church is not doing a great deal, in an organized way, to meet material community needs. Perhaps more could be done, but, due to the fact that nearly all of its members, both men and women, are gainfully employed every day, available workers are very scarce, and the Church is not financially able to employ anyone to work in this capacity. The Church has attempted to provide means of fellowship through its social programs which, during the war, were seriously curtailed. The next step for the Church would probably be to step up its fellowship program. Another step would be for the members in the various neighborhoods to survey those neighborhoods for whatever need might exist with which the Church could cope.

As has been indicated in the survey, the agencies which exist in the community for the community, itself, are comparatively few. Church members, with all other citizens, contribute to the work, financially, of various agencies in

the county, the offices of which are located here. The Church endeavors to enlist the interest of her members in various community and county causes when requested to emphasize through announcement at the stated services of worship these causes and the particular need which it is desired to have emphasized. The Church stands ready to render assistance whenever called upon to do so by the agencies of both community and county. There seems to be no particular "next step" for the Church in this regard.

There is only one Presbyterian church in the community, and it endeavors to reach the people of all neighborhoods. The membership of the Church is scattered in all parts of the community. The Church endeavors to reach the various neighborhoods through her members who reside in various parts of the town, endeavoring to enlist their help in reaching the unchurched in their particular neighborhoods. The next step of the Church should be to improve and consolidate this program for greater effectiveness. The Presbyterian Church expects, as soon as possible, to organize a community religious survey to determine the "religious content" of the various neighborhoods looking to the ultimate purpose of soul-winning and the bringing into the Church all with Presbyterian preference.

Kilgore:

The First Presbyterian Church of Kilgore is increasingly learning more of the importance of community life in character development. Boys and girls are influenced by their friends, and "gangs" play an important part in juvenile delinquency. The play group of the community contributes to the growth of the child, and adults are generally careful not to violate the "good manners and customs of the community." Because the community plays such a great part in the education of its people it is important that the church, through study and cooperation, should join forces with the character, welfare, and social agencies of the community. The church should be interested in all activities which will bring improvement to the community. We feel that the church should seek to lift the spiritual level of the community and to assist community agencies in combating the destructive forces of a city.

While it is difficult to decide just what steps should be taken to relate the program of the church to the needs of the community, it is certainly the intention of the First Presbyterian Church to keep in mind the needs of the whole community as future plans are made and programs developed. Most of the things brought to light by the survey were not necessarily new to us since the existing needs of the community were already known. However, the survey has focused attention upon these needs, and the implication is that the church should do something about them.

The survey shows that the church has the opportunity of undergirding and strengthening the work of some of the city's agencies.

(1) The Church might place more emphasis upon youth, and cooperate in a city-wide youth program. We would therefore encourage the formation of a United Christian Youth Council for the young people of the city. It might be difficult to get the denomination, the strongest numerically in the city, to cooperate, but many of the other denominations of the city would probably be glad to join in this interdenominational community effort.

(2) As none of the churches in the city is sponsoring a Girl Scout troop our church might take the lead in this direction. It would be helpful to have a closer relationship between the church and the girl scouting program.

(3) The First Presbyterian Church might also meet a need in the community by supporting the organization of a Senior Boy Scout program. The survey shows that many members of the church have been very active in Scout work. These possible activities in connection with scouting are suggested as "next steps."

Since there are so few agencies operating in the Kilgore community, there does not seem to be a great deal that can be done in relating the church program to those agencies other than through individual participation of our church members. It has been, and will be, the policy of the First Presbyterian Church to keep before its membership the work that is being done by the several agencies and to see to it that the membership is kept informed concerning the needs of these agencies and to urge their financial support.

There is an opportunity for the church to assist any agencies which might be interested in having the Bible taught in the public schools. Ordinarily the church, through the Ministerial Association, would promote a program of this type.

The survey indicates that the church might render assistance to the City Library in the following ways:

- (1) Securing needed material.
- (2) Using material in the library as resource material for Sunday school classes.
- (3) Assuming responsibility for certain book reviews during Religious Book Week and on other special occasions.
- (4) Church leaders on occasion assisting in the library story hour for children.
- (5) Appointing a library committee to keep the church and Sunday school members informed as to the services of the library.

The First Presbyterian Church has been a mission-minded church ever since the town began growing after the discovery of oil. The church has kept in mind all of the neighborhoods, and at one time or another has established mission work in the various neighborhoods where there was a need. As time went on, several of the missions served their purpose and were closed. Inasmuch as there are 24 churches within and very near the city limits (28 within six miles), there are not many areas outside the reach of some church. Some feel that our two Presbyterian churches and the community church with a Presbyterian pastor are just about enough for the size of the city.

It does not seem that there is so much need for additional outposts as for the existing churches to study anew the different segments of the population and seek to expand the influence of the First Church in the lives of more people in the neighborhoods which are already served by this church. However, through the information received in this survey, there seems to be a need for establishing work in the Melrose neighborhood. The church already has a small constituency in that neighborhood which might possibly be used as a nucleus. This neighborhood seems to be the only one in Kilgore which is not sufficiently churchied.

Several of the neighborhoods seem to be overchurched. Particularly is this true of the Cedar Top neighborhood where there are a number of Negro churches.

The church might also investigate the possibilities of opening missions in country areas or in locations several miles from the city. The church is already rendering financial assistance to the Shell Presbyterian Church and the Barber Memorial Community Church.

About 15,000 people live within or just outside the city limits of Kilgore. The approximate membership of the 24 churches in this area is 6,417. This would indicate that less than one-half of the population are enrolled in the Kilgore churches. According to these figures it is clear that the existing churches, including our own church, might make a more intensive evangelistic and educational effort to enlist the unenlisted.

Furthermore, the approximate enrollment of 24 Sunday schools in Kilgore is only 4,080 while the church enrollment is 6,417. Some authorities insist that if a church is to be in its best spiritual condition, its Sunday school enrollment should exceed its church enrollment. Since more people are received into church on profession of faith through the Sunday school than from any other agency, it would follow that an intensive effort should be made to enlist more people of the community into the Sunday school. A stronger emphasis on educational evangelism through the Sunday school would add to the spiritual strength of the church and ultimately contribute to the lifting of the moral and spiritual level of the community. We would suggest that the various Protestant denominations consider a cooperative Sunday school enlargement campaign.

Specifically, the First Presbyterian Church membership, less its mission enrollment of 152, is 560. The Sunday school enrollment is 376. In view of the fact that the Sunday school enrollment should exceed the church enrollment, the implication would be that the First Presbyterian Sunday school has a real goal before it. According to the standards of the International Council of Religious Education, the average Sunday school attendance should be 70 percent of the attending membership. The average attendance of the attending membership of this school during 1945 was 224 or 59 percent. The Sunday school might well set a goal of 70 percent as the average attendance of the enrollees.

While the city of Kilgore has a few community agencies operating programs for the betterment of the community, it does not have a community council, a planning committee, or a council of social agencies for coordinating the work of the various agencies. If the city of Kilgore is of sufficient size to justify the formation of a council of social agencies, perhaps the First Presbyterian Church should take whatever steps it can in that direction. A broad, representative community council or planning board may be what is needed.

Reidsville:

Reidsville has its assets and its liabilities, as does every community its size. The strengths—represented by churches, organized government, planning organizations, civic and business clubs, and the various agencies with special programs for community betterment—indicate that the community is alive to many of its responsibilities. Its liabilities—represented by poor housing, considerable adult and juvenile delinquency, broken homes, shortage of some kinds of community facilities, and the various programs for which some leaders in the com-

munity are asking—indicate that the battle for a good community is not yet won.

This survey has revealed something of the provisions which Reidsville makes for the life of its people, its industry, its community agencies, its churches—and more important, something of its problems. Members of the local Survey Committee who participated in two discussions of the Survey's findings reacted as if much of the survey was indeed a revelation. Yes, there are problems—particularly housing—problems which need attention.

But does the Church, the First Presbyterian Church or the Reidsville churches collectively, have a responsibility to do something, anything, about these problems? It is held by some that the Church's primary job is to preach and teach the Gospel. If it did that thoroughly and well is that not enough? Among the local people there seems to be considerable sentiment in favor of this point of view.

Is the Gospel self-interpreting, does the church not speak out concerning the meaning of its teachings in the lives of individuals? Yes, it was admitted, it does; it says for example that a man should not beat his wife and that he should not drink alcoholic beverages; it has some specific ideas about keeping the Sabbath holy. Here someone mentioned: "The Church does take action on social matters too. If the churches of Reidsville had not banded together and put up a fight, liquor would be sold openly in Rockingham County." And there was the matter of Sunday movies which are banned, and of the blocking of Sunday commercial baseball games in Reidsville, for which churches take the credit.

Yes, of course, the church has some responsibility to do something when faced with such problems. But what? They had done something about teaching the Bible in public schools. Their representatives got together, set up a board of directors, planned a house-to-house canvass, raised the money, arranged matters with the School Board, and hired a teacher. But this was a matter that was peculiarly religious in character. Its solution did not constitute a direct drain on church finances.

Further discussion brought out the opinion that in the face of problems which the community decides to attack usually an agency of some kind is established. Some group—presumably directly or indirectly representing the whole community—takes on the job, then goes to some source of financing which more or less spreads the burden on the whole community. Should a church, representing only a segment of the community and organized primarily to serve that segment, become such an agency for community-wide service on some of these problems? It was pretty generally agreed that ordinarily it should not. First, the problems are the problems of the whole community. Second, a church could not likely afford alone to carry the financial burden of meeting such problems. Third, it is doubtful that a single church could see the problem entirely without bias, and, even if it did, it might be suspected by the community of having motives other than pure service.

Then, is it enough that the church serve as a center of inspiration to its own members and those who share in its worship and teaching programs, inspiration which leads them to want to participate as Christian citizens in moves toward community betterment? Or would it suffice if specific problems were mentioned from time to time from the pulpit with implications that the members of the congregation "ought to do something about it"? No, this would not be enough.

Someone suggested that perhaps monthly church fellowship dinners might be held at which speakers on local problems might be heard and discussions conducted. This idea seemed to be a step in the right direction.

Could the churches help in connection with the work of the Planning Board? The chairman of the Board thought they could. Questions of policy and action in connection with current problems might be referred by the Planning Board for discussion by church groups, which might communicate their thinking back to the Planning Board.

The possibility that a sort of personnel committee might be set up in each church (suggested by the Assistant Supervisor of the survey) to study jobs which needed to be done in the church and in the community, also to study the church membership to discover talents, and finally to attempt to direct these talents into channels of greatest usefulness, seemed to be worth consideration.

Certainly, over and above its traditional programs, the Church has a responsibility to do something positive about community problems such as those revealed in the survey. It must somehow keep itself in touch with the human problems of the community. It is the keeper of the brother on the other side of the tracks, of the children living in houses unfit for human habitation, of the drinker who seems to find solution of his problems when soused in alcohol. There are perhaps limitations on the church as a local institution, which affect its suitability as the sole agent for solving these problems, but this is not an excuse for a do-nothing program. It must do more, but what, and how? It is to be hoped that the First Presbyterian Church of Reidsville, the other local churches, and The Presbyterian Church in the United States may continue to seek answers to this question: "What and how?"

Vicksburg:

Unfortunately the present pastor of this church has resigned as of May 31, 1946, and the director of religious education will leave at the end of July. This prevents any planning now for future developments that should come to life as a result of this survey.

However, the Session of the Church has shown a real interest in the work and has set up the machinery for making a careful study of its results. Apparently when a new minister and a director of religious education are employed a great many of the weaknesses which have been revealed will be remedied.

Particular attention should be called to the fact that a careful survey of the county has been made recently and plans are going forward for the establishment of two rural Sunday schools. The complete plans call for the enlargement of the one rural Presbyterian Church now located in the county fifteen miles south of Vicksburg and formerly served by the Vicksburg pastor, and the employment of a minister who will direct the out-of-city work under the supervision of the local Session.

Plans have already been completed to reorganize the Vicksburg Council of Churches in which this church will participate fully and through which a great many social and community problems will be attacked.

Greenville:

The church has sensed the need and plans to meet the need for a program of education in the fundamental philosophy of a Christian community. This

includes the recognition of a changing social order in which traditional mind sets regarding race, class, culture and privilege must be modified to assure good will, community well-being, and progress.

Until patterns of social agency organization change the Church is rendering all possible service in this field.

The Church, in connection with this survey, has joined with other Presbyterian churches in making a house to house socio-religious survey of sections of the city not served by any church. On the basis of this need the Church is taking steps to establish a community Sunday school with a full Sunday program of worship and teaching and a week-day program of teaching, recreation, and fellowship for all persons. This includes one Negro neighborhood where work is to be established and through which the tone of the whole section may be elevated.

One of the neighborhoods mentioned above offers an immediate opportunity for the establishment of another Presbyterian church. This section lies along Augusta Road. This can easily be accomplished if the Church agrees to the idea of colonization.

Two other matters engage the attention of the Church. The need for a program of counselling and guidance in Christian homemaking to prevent broken homes with the attendant problems, not only with returning service personnel but with all domestic situations aggravated by the tensions of present-day living. The second need is for some constructive plan for adequate recreation for certain Negro neighborhoods in the community. This means better parks and community centers to meet the need of the Negro populace.

Charleston:

The preceding data have shown that a number of unmet or inadequately met needs exist in Charleston and that there are many bad conditions which should be improved if the youth of the city is to have a fair opportunity for the best development. On the basis of these findings the following suggestions are made as constructive steps which Bream Memorial Church might take toward community betterment.

A. In terms of meeting community needs through the program of the church, it is suggested:

1. That the Church and its members become better informed on housing conditions in Charleston and seek means of improving bad housing, especially within the Church neighborhood.

2. That a further and more intensive study of the immediate neighborhood be made by the Church to determine the extent of poor health and lack of medical care; the extent of juvenile delinquency and children's problems; and the need for day care of children of working mothers, nursery school care and afternoon programs for young school children.

3. That the findings of this research be used as a basis for the creation of a clinic or clinics to be held in the Church buildings with special emphasis on education for better health and nutrition, child care, mental hygiene, and the prevention of disease, especially tuberculosis and venereal diseases; also for the establishment of a nursery school, a day nursery, and possibly an after-school program for older children, these to be under the direction of a person pro-

fessionally trained for this work and to have special emphasis placed on parent groups.

4. That the work now being carried on with children from a deteriorated area be continued and expanded in an effort to combat juvenile delinquency.

5. That a full-time trained director of recreational activities be employed in order to make more effective use of the Church facilities in meeting the recreational needs of the community.

6. That a qualified psychiatrist be asked to talk to church teachers, leaders, and other groups to help them understand human behavior and mental health principles that would make their work with people more constructive.

7. That more talks by physicians on sex education be arranged for youth groups.

8. That continued interest in veterans and their families be maintained with efforts to interpret their problems and to help in job finding.

9. That the Church co-operate with such groups as the Four Freedoms Fellowship in an effort to understand the underlying factors in race problems and that it seek ways to help eliminate injustice due to prejudice.

B. In terms of relating its program to that of other agencies it is recommended:

1. That Bream Memorial Church make fullest use of the Case Registration Bureau whenever an opportunity presents itself.

2. That there be discussion through which members of the Church can become better informed on the social problems and agency programs of Charleston and consider them from a constructive, critical angle in the light of the best social practice.

C. In terms of possible church expansion it is recommended:

That a branch of the Church be established in the vicinity of Watts School.

Nashville:

The Glen Leven Presbyterian Church in the future can assist in meeting the community needs of Nashville by introducing through the program of the church an education and interpretation program of trends in present-day social work—especially in regard to the foster home idea, professional Christmas giving, keeping confidential matters, etc.

The Church can assist in meeting needs of the community of Nashville by relating its program of social work more closely to the regular established community and national agencies in the fields of recreation, economic relief, behavior problems, social adjustment, health, and education.

The Church can assist in meeting community needs by taking the lead in the development of a Neighborhood Council. This should be done in full cooperation with the P.T.A. and other churches of the neighborhood. The Council would in turn be concerned about its own neighborhood, especially facilities and leadership for recreation. It would see that all existing resources of the neighborhood are utilized. It would relate outside interests and agencies to the local neighborhood.

The Glen Leven Presbyterian Church is not large enough at present to branch out to other neighborhoods as a definite policy. This can be done only incidentally. There is a possible opportunity, however, for the Church to expand into the Woodbine neighborhood. This begins just inside the city limits.

The Church can assist in meeting community needs by providing additional playground facilities and leadership for the existing playground in its neighborhood.

INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

In general, the experience of making these studies has been stimulating and thought-provoking to the survey committees. Furthermore, direct application was occasionally made of some of the findings. Plans have been developed for various types of follow-up. The range of implications drawn from the surveys is wide indeed.

One group of conclusions reached by the survey committees has to do with wide expansion and strengthening of the traditional work of the church. New Madrid, Kilgore, and Nashville stressed the need for enlargement of church membership through reaching the many unchurched. New Madrid and Greenville intend to participate in a religious census of the community as a step in this direction.

The several surveys which secured full data revealed that little better than half the population of the community was in the fold of the church. A look at the age and sex distribution of the members of the selected Presbyterian churches may be helpful at this point. Table 14 and Figure 2 give the picture for *communicant* and *baptized* members taken together.¹ Out of a combined membership of 5,114 in the nine churches reporting, there is an excess of 504 females over males. This excess is most pronounced from 15 to 44 years of age which, it will be remembered, was true also for the total population of the larger communities studied. The female preponderance is much less noticeable or is not present in the churches in two of the four smallest communities (Brownsburg and Mansfield). The age peaks in membership fall within the range of 25 to 54. The relatively large number of *baptized* members under 5 years of age as compared with those 5 to 9 may be a reflection of (1) the rising birth rate during the war years, (2) the greater tendency by parents to have infants baptized during this war period, or (3) more stress by the churches on infant baptism in recent years. It behooves each church to study the age and sex pyramid for its membership when doing program planning or considering means of expansion.

1. The policy of the different churches as to age of those considered to be *baptized* members varies considerably. In three churches all *baptized* members are under 10 years of age, in one church the age range is up to 14, in another it is up to 19, in still another it is up to 24, while in one church almost all age groups are represented among the *baptized* members. Data for two churches were not broken down according to whether the members are *communicant* or *baptized*. Data were not available for the Charleston church.

TABLE 14. AGE AND SEX OF MEMBERS OF NINE* SELECTED
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, DECEMBER 31, 1945

Age	Number			Percentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	5,114	2,305	2,809	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	336	159	177	6.6	6.9	6.3
5- 9	219	117	102	4.3	5.1	3.6
10-14	339	159	180	6.6	6.9	6.4
15-19	382	173	209	7.5	7.5	7.4
20-24	354	168	186	6.9	7.3	6.6
25-29	456	217	239	8.9	9.4	8.5
30-34	456	200	256	8.9	8.7	9.1
35-39	426	200	226	8.3	8.7	8.1
40-44	460	195	265	9.0	8.5	9.4
45-49	450	207	243	8.8	9.0	8.7
50-54	412	177	235	8.1	7.7	8.4
55-59	260	118	142	5.1	5.1	5.1
60-64	223	88	135	4.3	3.8	4.8
65-69	145	47	98	2.8	2.0	3.5
70-74	100	42	58	2.0	1.8	2.1
75 and over	75	29	46	1.5	1.2	1.6
Unknown	21	9	12	0.4	0.4	0.4

*Data not available for Bream Memorial Church in Charleston, West Virginia.

Kilgore and Greenville mention especially the need for expansion of the church school in both membership and attendance. Of particular interest are the plans of the First Church in Greenville for "a Community Sunday School with a full Sunday program of worship and teaching and a week-day program of teaching, recreation, and fellowship for all persons." The church in Franklin hopes to secure a new building with adequate recreational facilities for community use, and also a young people's worker. Somewhat out of the ordinary is the suggestion that this church should give financial aid to worthy young people for attendance at conferences and to enable them to go to college.

In five of the churches expansion in the form of outposts is indicated. In Franklin the Church will place more emphasis on its rural Sunday school outpost. Vicksburg plans to establish two rural Sunday schools and to aid in enlarging a rural church. Kilgore may establish a rural mission. In Greenville, Kilgore, and Charleston the survey has revealed need for an additional Presbyterian church in the community.

Three churches—Franklin, New Madrid, Kilgore—feel the need for making their work more vital in the lives of their members. New Madrid plans to "step up its fellowship program."

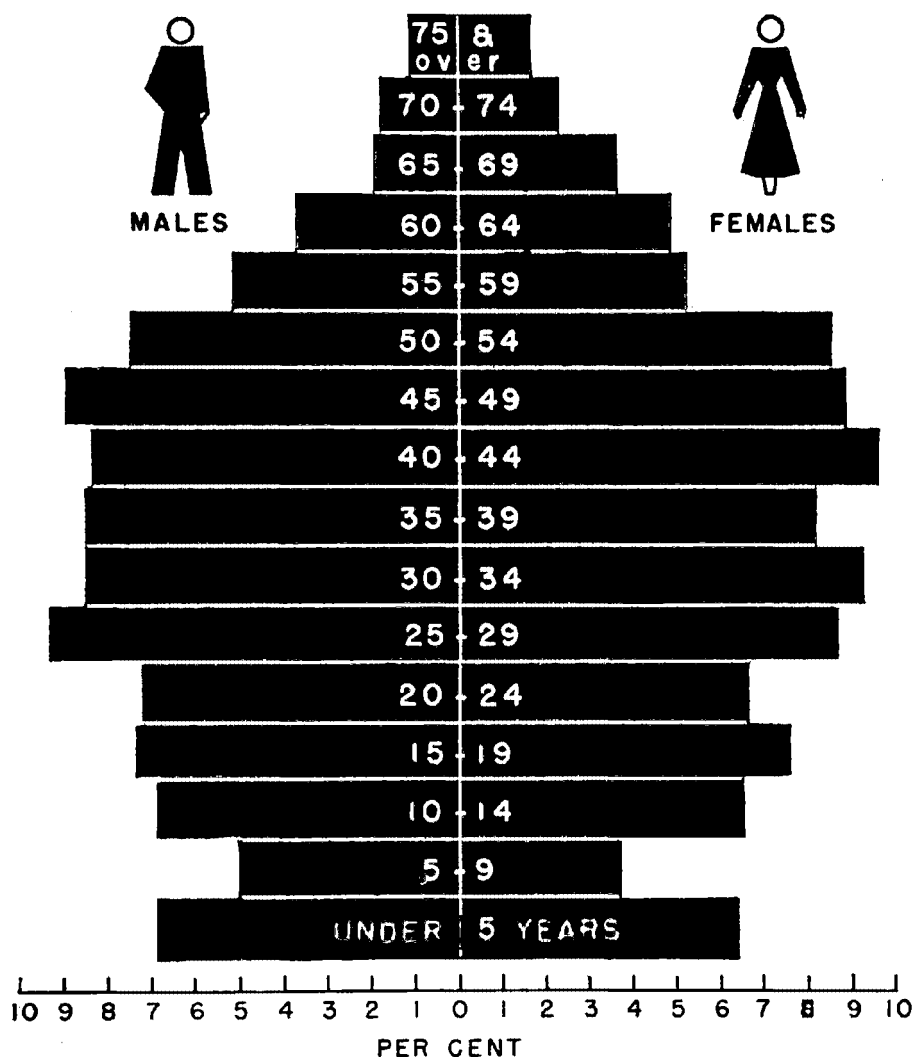


FIGURE 2. POPULATION PYRAMID FOR MEMBERSHIP OF NINE SELECTED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, DECEMBER 31, 1945

Another general category of implications concerns the need for more closely relating the church to social and economic problems of the community. In the New Madrid and Greenville surveys reference was made to this in general terms. In Greenville the need is seen for the church to develop an educational program on the Christian Community stressing the importance of social change

in relation to "traditional mind sets regarding race, class, culture and privilege" as factors affecting "good will, community well being, and progress." The New Madrid survey suggests that members of the church study their own neighborhoods to ascertain needs. In Reidsville the interesting idea was put forward of having a monthly church fellowship dinner for the primary purpose of discussing community problems.

Specific suggestions of how the church might aid in meeting social and economic problems were varied. In the rural community of Brownsburg it was thought that the church could aid through educational means in the development of intensive farming and small business enterprises designed to diversify the community economy. In Franklin the idea was advanced that the church should aid the schools in combating juvenile delinquency. The Kilgore church is considering working out a program of teaching Bible in the public schools. This church also has grave concern for the youth of the community and proposes to sponsor Scout troops and a community-wide United Christian Youth Council. In Greenville the church is planning to work for the improvement of recreational facilities and services in Negro neighborhoods, while in Nashville the church proposes to mobilize more effectively its recreational facilities and leadership—and volunteer leadership seems to be a bottleneck. In Greenville the church desires to help in the development of "counselling and guidance in Christian homemaking to prevent broken homes with the attendant problems." In the Kilgore study five ways are identified whereby the church can render assistance to the public library.

General cooperation with other agencies in the community is proposed by five of the churches. The Brownsburg study speaks of this in general terms. In New Madrid the possibility of pulpit announcements concerning needs and programs of the various agencies is mentioned. The Kilgore church proposes to keep its members informed concerning the programs and particular needs of the agencies, but no explanation is given as to how this will be done. The Reidsville survey committee shows originality in proposing a personnel committee to discover talent for leadership positions both in the church and in community programs. The Glen Leven Church in Nashville is considering "an educational and interpretation program of trends in present-day social work."

A final category of implications has to do with community organization. It would seem to be impossible for any group of intelligent citizens to study their community according to the suggested outline and not come to a fuller realization of its complexity regardless of size. Awareness generally comes, also, of the duplication of some agency services on the one hand and of unmet community needs on the other. The logical result is a stand for more attention to community organization and planning. At least four of the surveys substantiate this. The Kilgore study takes the position that the church should possibly sponsor the development of a council of social agencies. In Reidsville it is felt that perhaps machinery should be set up so that the churches might advise the recently established Planning Board. In Vicksburg the church is going to push the reorganization of the local Council of Churches as a means of better co-

ordinating the activities of the churches. In Nashville the suburban Glen Leven Church is recommending the establishment of a neighborhood council.

It appears obvious that the surveys have meant something in the lives of these churches. Some of the religious leaders seem to have had their attitudes modified as to the role of the church in the community. This problem was especially well thought through in the Reidsville study. When should the church participate in meeting community needs other than spiritual? What part can the church take directly? What is "off base" for the church in this regard? How can relationships with other agencies in the community be worked out most effectively? These and other problems continually bob up as church leaders look at conditions in their community and ponder them. A strong point is made in the Reidsville study when we are reminded that churches already quite commonly take part in meeting community problems which require social action, to wit, a referendum to determine whether or not liquor shall be sold in the community and the issue of Sunday movies. The fact of participation in a survey of this kind seems to push these leaders along a little further in their thinking. From Vicksburg it is reported that "the Session of the church has shown a real interest in the work and has set up the machinery for making a careful study of its results." From Reidsville comes word that definite plans are in the making for follow-up of the survey. Although the way ahead is uncharted, the general direction is becoming more clear.

Part IV

APPENDICES

Appendix A

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DIGESTS
OF
SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITY STUDIES

Prepared by
SOLOMON SUTKER

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DIGESTS OF SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITY STUDIES

COMMUNITIES IN TWO OR MORE SUBREGIONS:

"Constructive Measures for Southern Rural Communities." By Frank D. Alexander. *Social Forces*, Vol. 24, No. 2, December 1945. Pp. 181-85. **A-1**

Purpose: Possible measures for influencing community life.

The material for this article was taken from the *Cultural Reconnaissance Surveys, 1944-45*, and the *Rural Life Trend Studies, 1942-44*, made by the Atlanta office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in selected counties in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

The war caused migration from many communities in the South. This migration has created a loss of students and teachers in rural schools, a loss of medical and nursing personnel, a loss of farm labor with its resulting strain on the farm family, increased reliance on mechanization when machinery was available, etc.

There is a great amount of variability of rural community life in the South. As extreme examples, the author cites the mountain communities of northeast Georgia, isolated and with general self-sufficient farming, in contrast with the plantation communities of the Mississippi Delta. The latter has commercial farming and a high standard of living for the group controlling the plantations, plus a constant emphasis on race relations.

In place of the small locality community, the county community is emerging. Automobiles, better roads, consolidated schools, more adequate public health and welfare services as well as agricultural services are important factors creating the county community.

It is usually necessary to think of two communities when dealing with community life in the South. Because of segregation, the Negro has his own churches, mutual aid societies, schools, and other institutions; and because of this situation, the smaller locality groups of Negroes have survived better than have the small white communities and neighborhoods. The Negro, in most cases, uses the county seat as his trade and service center.

Community participation is definitely limited in most areas of the South. Participating in organizations is frequently limited to the more substantial members of the community. Community leadership varies greatly from one part of the region to another.

The church is the principal social organization in the rural southern community. "Churches are numerous in most rural areas of the region; in fact they are usually too numerous. Although competition and conflict among the rural churches have declined considerably in recent years, the large number of churches and the lack of resident ministers prevent their providing effective moral leadership in many communities. Indeed, the inefficient and unorganized programs of the church are often a source of low community morale." The church should emphasize a better social and economic life for the community, through better farming, soil conservation, and improved recreational facilities. Ministers should be better trained, including contacts with agricultural tech-

nicians, and their salaries should be supplemented by the parent church when necessary. This would enable the church to get good men.

Schools are often poorly equipped and understaffed. There is too much indifference to educational matters. Schools should have more vocational training, both for rural and urban jobs. More emphasis should be placed on adult education.

The principal organization for the farmers is the Farm Bureau. Cooperative farm organizations have had limited success, due to lack of education on the functions of the cooperative, lack of trained managerial personnel, and not enough realistic interest in the welfare of the whole farm community.

The main noncommercial activities of southern rural communities are visiting, singing conventions, homecomings and special days at the church, barbecues, high school basketball games, Saturday afternoons at the county seat, and meeting of mutual aid societies. Motion pictures and pool rooms in the towns and juke joints along the highways are the principal forms of commercial recreation.

Unless there is full employment in the United States, the southern rural community will suffer, for those who left will return in great numbers and create a labor surplus. This would tend to lower the level of community living. Mechanization may require further migration of the rural population to maintain an adequate standard of living. The alternative of establishing numerous new industries in the rural areas would create many new problems. Larger administrative units will be needed in areas with small populations and insufficient financial resources if various public services are to be secured. Better transportation facilities might improve attendance at meetings and thus improve some community relationships.

The author doubts the need for more farmer organizations in each community. What is needed is to make the few organizations already in existence more democratic and more concerned with local matters. The schools and the churches must provide better recreational interests if a satisfying way of life is to be had in the rural communities of the region.

The training of lay people for positions of leadership is possibly the most important step to make rural community life more desirable. County councils of technical workers and representative of citizen clubs, special interest groups, and the general public should be formed to plan all phases of development in the county, including periodical surveys. Since race relations are so important in the southern community, Negroes should have representation on county councils to present their viewpoint.

A-2 *Rural Trends in Depression Years, A Survey of Village-Centered Agricultural Communities, 1930-1936.* By Edmund De S. Brunner and Irving Lorge. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 387.

Purpose: To discover the effect of the depression on selected agricultural village communities.

This study is the third in a series on 140 village-centered communities. The first was made in 1923-24 and the second in 1929. This survey was made in 1936 and included 30 southern villages.

Although the Nation had an increase in farm population during the depression as well as an increase in new farms, the tobacco-cotton area of North Carolina,

the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, the Texas Black Belt, southwestern Oklahoma, and the old plantation section of the South lost in farm population. The Appalachian area had a population increase. There was a continued decline in the number of Negroes on farms in contrast to the total white farm population. Farm values dropped proportionately lower in the South than in the rest of the country. There was a decline in tenancy due to crop failures, the Agricultural Adjustment Act reduction programs, and increased mechanization. Tax delinquencies became more frequent since tax rates did not decline as fast as land values. The AAA program was largely accepted by the southern states although there was some opposition on the grounds that tenants were being displaced on account of the program.

The southern villages between 1930-36 had an increase in population except for the areas mentioned above, but this increase was not quite as high as the national average. Most of this increase came from farmers moving into the villages from the country on account of relief measures, the AAA program, and mechanization. Likewise there was an increase in the open country population as people moved from the cities during the depression. This population movement created additional educational and relief problems in the communities. Although from a national viewpoint the villages showed a great improvement in relationships with the open-country population between 1930-36, this was not true of the South where there was evidence of conflicting interests between village and open country groups. These interests were all economic and dealt with credit, rural electrification programs, the rise of farmers' cooperatives. Open-country neighborhoods declined more in the South than in any other region because hard-surfaced roads were secured here later than in other areas. Consolidated schools, the development of farm to market roads, the depression, and population migration all tended to reduce the importance of the open-country neighborhood.

From 1930 to 1936, there was an increase in the number of village stores along with a sharp decline in retail sales. In the South the total number of stores rose by one-third; the number of feed stores declined but there was an increase in auto accessory, hardware, restaurant, soft-drink, beauty parlor, barber, druggist, liquor and other specialized establishments. The decline in per capita sales was very severe in the South, being almost 44 percent between 1930-1935. Government relief and farm measures helped to improve conditions, which were on the upgrade when this survey was made. Likewise, between 1930-36 there was a decline in the number of industries in southern villages.

The severe effects of the depression on the village educational system are shown by the survey. Salary cuts, shortened terms, lack of repairs—these conditions were characteristic of schools during this period. There was a decline in the number of farm children attending the consolidated village high schools. Two-thirds of any new schools constructed in the southern villages were built with the aid of federal funds. Six of the southern villages surveyed in 1936 had adult education courses. In addition, various federal emergency programs had adult education courses available in 18 of the southern villages in 1935-36. Most of these communities had no plans to continue the emergency adult educational program when the federal government ceased its aid.

There was a great differential between the amount spent on village libraries in the South and the amount spent elsewhere. Whereas the desirable amount

per inhabitant each year for library service was \$1.00, the southern village spent only 9 cents. The circulation of books per capita was lower in the southern village than elsewhere, but it was increasing.

The outstanding characteristic of rural social organizations between 1930-36 was their heavy turnover. There was an increase in athletic and educational organizations throughout the South. Townsend and Social Justice Clubs, so common in the rest of the United States in 1936, were far fewer proportionately in the South. In all types of social organizations except the Farm Bureau, there was a rise in membership between 1930 and 1936.

Local governments between 1930-36 had less change than any other organizations. Tax revenues had been declining all the time. Interestingly enough, there was an increase in the number of doctors and dentists in the villages between 1930 and 1936. However, there had been a steadily declining number of doctors prior to 1930, and the increase since that date was making up in part for the previous decline.

There were fewer churches in the southern village of 1936 than in 1930. There was an increase in the number of country churches in contrast to the condition in the rest of the nation. This was apparently due to population movements to the open-country. Per capita expenditures declined almost 50 percent for village churches. The importance of the Sunday School as a part of the church organization remained strong.

A-3 *Membership Relations in Community Organizations, A Study of Factors Affecting Organizational Attitudes.* By William E. Garnett and Aja C. Seymour. Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 287, June 1932. Pp. 63.

Purpose: To inquire into factors affecting organizational attitudes.

This study concentrated on the membership relations of local chapters of the four organizations operating most widely in the State—the Cooperative Education Association, the Parent-Teacher's Association, the Grange, and the Standard Community Association. Five communities over the State of Virginia were selected as fairly representative of several geographical and type of farming areas.

The communities were:

The Climax Community of northern Pittsylvania County located in the tobacco section of southside Virginia.

Stuarts Draft, a community in Augusta County in the Shenandoah Valley section.

The Barbourville Community, of Orange County in the Piedmont section of the State.

The Draper Community, in Pulaski County—a typical livestock community of the bluegrass region of southwest Virginia.

The Riner Community in Montgomery County in southwest Virginia.

In the Climax Community, some grains and other foods as well as livestock are raised in addition to the chief crop, tobacco. The average size of farm is 60 acres. The community has seven neighborhoods with approximately 250

families, two-thirds of whom are white. The community is densely populated—60.7 persons to a square mile. 70 percent of the population are farm people divided into three classes, the white land owners, the white tenants, and the Negroes. The white tenants constitute about half of the white population. Illiteracy and near-illiteracy are high.

The trade center of the community is a place with less than 50 people. It has three general stores, a high school, and a small church. There are 11 churches in the community but only one has a resident minister. Besides church organizations, there are a Parent-Teacher's Association (40 members), a Grange local (30 members), an agricultural evening school (average attendance, 35 people), a 4-H Club (35 members), Future Farmers of America (36 members), and a home economics club. The school has an enrollment of 400.

The community is eight miles from the county seat, and 26 miles from the nearest city. Graded sand-clay roads make transportation difficult in wet weather. Railroad facilities are eight miles away. There was telephone service available, but in 1931, no power line electricity was obtainable. Very few homes were equipped with running water or other modern conveniences.

The Climax Community has had above average leadership, with particularly good county school superintendents and county agents. The local churches have given little support to community organizations or community development enterprises.

Stuarts Draft has some of the best land in the State and is a general farming, livestock, and orchard area with dairying also on the increase. The average size of farms is 143 acres. This community of approximately 150 families is more prosperous than the average Virginia community. Most of the population are white, and half of the people were classified by the 1930 census as being non-farm. The population density is 42 persons to the square mile.

The village has 450 people, 13 stores and shops, a bank, a post office, a mill, and a railroad station. Power line electricity and telephone service are available. The village is connected by hard surfaced roads with all important nearby centers.

There were three churches with resident ministers in or near the village and two open country churches a short distance away also had resident ministers. The 14 teacher high school had an enrollment of 400. The Community League with 60 members had one of the largest memberships of the several voluntary organizations in the area.

The Barbourville Community has general farming as its chief occupation, with livestock, dairy products, and grain furnishing the principal sources of cash income. The average farm had 163 acres. The Community had about 125 white and about 50 Negro families. It is surrounded on three sides by hills that are inhabited by poor mountain people.

The village of Barbourville is a center of 180 people with eight stores and shops, 2 lodge halls, 3 churches (none with resident ministers), a doctor, a post office, a railroad station, and a high school. The village has power line electricity and telephone service, and the roads are adequate. Much of the local trade goes to larger centers. Several railroad workers live in the community since it is on the main line of the Southern Railroad.

Community organizations include the Standard Community Association, a 4-H Club, a book club, and lodges of the Odd Fellows and the Masons. The Standard Community Organization has an average attendance of 100 at its

monthly meetings and provides the nucleus of community activity at Barbourville.

The Draper Community has a diversified agriculture, with grain, cattle, and sheep furnishing the chief sources of income. The average farm had 113 acres. The population density was 31.4 persons to a square mile. Ninety percent of the people are native white, and about a fifth of the farms are operated by tenants. The leading people are of Scotch-Irish descent. The churches and other community activities show evidence of class consciousness.

The village center has 192 people. Transportation facilities are good with two highways, a branch line of a railroad, and ferry service across the New River. There are adequate business facilities, but the town is only six miles from a center of 7,000 people that draws on the community for trade.

An excellent consolidated school and eleven small schools provide educational facilities. There are five churches, two with resident ministers. The Community League with 35 members is the only active civic organization in the community.

The Riner Community has livestock raising and dairy herds as its main economic livelihood. The farms are of medium size and are operated by landowners, tenants, and farm laborers. There are no Negroes in the community.

The village center has a population of about 260 people. It has three general stores, two churches, a bank, 2 garages, and a high school with an enrollment of 200. There is a hard surfaced road that leads to the county seat six miles away. The county seat is also the railroad shipping center. Community organizations include the Grange, a 4-H Club, Future Farmers of America, a home economics club, two farmer's marketing associations, an evening school with 11 members. The Grange is the most prominent organization in promoting the community.

The study indicates that even in well developed communities, long established community organizations have the active support of less than a third of those whose support they want. The larger part of the membership in each community comes from within two miles of the community center. There seems to be a lag between the improvement of transportation facilities and the growth of community organizations. The wealthier the community, the more effective is the social organization. Social stratification affects the strength of all types of communities.

A-4 *Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages.* By David Ross Jenkins. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. Pp. 95.

Purpose: The author uses Bartholomew, Mississippi as an example of the declining agricultural village and Carthage, North Carolina as an example of the growing village.

Bartholomew is located on Mississippi bottomland where cotton is the chief crop. The economic activity of the village is centered around a 15,000 acre cotton plantation. The cotton plantation interests own or operate the two cotton gins in the village, as well as the bank and three large general stores. The only other businesses in the village are small enterprises like a drug store, barbershops, a restaurant, filling stations, etc.—all of which are independently owned.

The size of the population in the area has been dependent on a system of land tenure dominated by one company and on the price of cotton. During the

decade 1920-1930, the population fell to 300 people, a decline of 30 percent. There is a very small proportion of children under 10 years of age, a high proportion in the 10-20 age group, a low proportion in the productive years, 20 to 40, and a high proportion in the age groups over 40. "The youth problem was serious in Bartholomew and . . . provision for recreation and social organization among youth was completely lacking." The only social organizations were the Parent-Teacher's Association and the churches with their auxiliary organizations.

Carthage, North Carolina is in the bright leaf tobacco area of the State. This village of 1,200 is a trade center and county seat. Approximately 170 people were added to its population between 1920 and 1930. Two small hosiery mills and two planing mills give employment to about 100 people. "Although industry has played a part in the rise of the village, Carthage is still essentially an agricultural service station that owes its main growth to the increasing centralization of county services." The growth in importance of governmental services, particularly the activities of federal agricultural agencies, the method of marketing tobacco, and political activity—all have aided in this centralizing tendency. The village has a community center and over a dozen social organizations besides the usual school and church activities.

Carthage has a substantially larger proportion of children under 10 years of age than has Bartholomew and also a slightly higher ratio of people 20 to 30 years of age. Bartholomew has more females in every age group from 10 to 60, particularly in the child-bearing ages, while Carthage has more children under 10 years. The author suggests that this might indicate that the fecundity ratio is lower in declining villages, for a higher percentage of women were married in Bartholomew than in Carthage. Also there is a higher crude birth rate in the entire county in which Bartholomew is located than in the county of which Carthage is the county seat.

Rural Social Trends. By J. H. Kolb and Edmund De S. Brunner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933. Pp. 386. **A-5**

Purpose: The book shows the social trends in American agricultural villages between 1924 and 1930-31.

The monograph, one of the series issued by the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, is based on studies made in 1924 and 1930-31 of agricultural villages in the United States plus census data on these villages and 31 other areas for 1920 and 1930. The outline given below emphasizes the role of the southern village in the study.

The South Atlantic states showed almost a fifty percent growth for the 1,189 incorporated villages existent in 1910 and in 1930. This was the highest increase in the United States except for the Pacific Coast states which had an 82 percent increase. Although the southern villages had the highest ratio of children under ten years of age to women 20 to 45 years of age, the villages showed a decline in this ratio between 1920 to 1930, indicating a declining village birth rate compared with former years. Along with the decline in the proportion of children in the agricultural villages was an increase in the number and proportion of elderly people, with the largest increases being found in the South and particularly in the Far West. However, of all the regions the South still had the

highest ratio of young people and the smallest percentage of old people to its total agricultural village population. But, as indicated above, this condition was changing.

The sharpest decline in sex ratio, i.e., the ratio of males to 100 females, occurred in the southern villages. This was due in part to the migration of Negroes. In every region of the Nation, the proportion of married men in villages increased while the proportion of single men decreased between 1920 and 1930. The southern villages had a far greater percentage of the community population living in the open country than in the village center as compared with other regions.

The study showed that of the villages surveyed in 1924 and 1930, the South showed the greatest losses in number of neighborhoods existent in 1924 and no longer present in 1930. This appeared to be due chiefly to the fact that the South began its program of road improvement later than other regions and the development of these highways in the 1920's caused the decline of neighborhoods.

"Four occupations in agricultural villages . . . stand out as of major importance, and characterize in rather definite fashion the role of villages in country life. These are manufacturing, trade, or merchandising, agriculture, and transportation." Transportation included such jobs as shipping foods and bringing into and distributing within the community articles needed by that area. Manufacturing included planing mills, canneries, cotton gins, small manufacturing plants, etc.

Southern villages had the lowest per capita retail sales of the villages surveyed. Likewise, next to the Middle West, the southern village had the most bank failures between 1924 and 1930 of any of the regions.

The southern village has been following a national trend towards consolidation of schools. The southern village also had the lowest average expenditures for schools of any region. The southern villages also had a smaller ratio of library borrowers to the total population than did any other region.

The trend in the South and elsewhere during the 1920's was for the opening of more churches in the village with a decline in the number of open country churches. The average membership of both village and country churches increased, resulting in part from the elimination of some of the smaller churches. The South also had the highest percentage of inactive members of village and country white Protestant churches. "The proportion of churches worth less than \$1,500 declined from 30 percent to 20 percent of the total number, and four-fifths of those left were in the South."

The southern villages had the fewest number of organizations per village of any region, but the South was on the increase in the growth of organizations. In amount per capita and average budget for education and recreation, health and sanitation, and care of the poor and aged, the southern villages were far below the national average and below every other region in the United States. The South had the greatest increase in the number of county health units of any region during the 1920's, but indications were that there had been a great decline in the number and percentage of physicians in rural areas.

"A Reconnaissance of Some Cultural-Agricultural Islands in the South." By A-6
Walter M. Kollmorgan. *Economic Geography*, Vol. 17, 1941, Pp. 409-430.

Purpose: This study was made to determine outstanding communities in the South which depart from the traditional agricultural pattern of the South and to suggest possibilities in diversified farming. It does not include all such cultural-agricultural islands.

Among these communities are:

Castle Haynes and St. Helena, North Carolina

These communities were organized by Mr. Hugh MacRae as part of a program to develop intensive agriculture in the South. They are located in the Atlantic Coastal Plain, about twenty miles north of Wilmington, North Carolina. Proximity of homesteads and opportunity for social intercourse were requisites in setting up the communities. Southerners were not successful in Mr. MacRae's original efforts so he finally selected farm-minded foreign-born immigrants living in northern industrial centers. These included Russians, Italians, Germans, Dutchmen, Poles, and Hungarians. The Dutch have been particularly successful, raising bulbs and flowers in addition to their truck crops. The standard of living in these settlements is high. None of the settlers had more than a few hundred dollars when they started during the 1920's. Today some are worth over \$50,000. The aid of experts plus the past experience of the people helped to make these communities successful economically. The families started with ten acre tracts and some enlarged to twenty acres. Yet their excellent agricultural methods permitted them to develop a varied economy.

Ridgeway, North Carolina

There are about forty German families in this community located in Warren County on the eastern edge of the Piedmont section of the State. They were descendants of families settling in the area in the 1870's and 1880's. Cotton and tobacco are the chief crops of the county, but the Germans raise cotton and cantaloupes as cash crops plus other products, including dairy products and berries. In comparison with their neighbors, they plant more cover crops and use more fertilizer. They are apparently more industrious and have far better credit and financial standing. Almost all of them are owners. The author contrasts the complacency with which the average southern farmer accepts credit farming with the point of view of the Germans of this area who prefer to operate on a cash basis.

Valdese, North Carolina

This community is in the western part of the Piedmont in Burke County. Its soil is very poor. A colony of Italians came in 1893 to farm the land which was very much like the soil they had left behind. In spite of their efforts, the project failed because of the poor land. Most of the families are now working for various textile mills in Valdese.

Wartburg, Tennessee

This community in eastern Tennessee has the oldest German settlement in the State. The land, located on the Cumberland Plateau, is very poor and the people have had a hard time farming it. In spite of this handicap, the Germans

operate the best farms in the community, have better homes, and have practically no relief problems. There are about forty families of German origin still in the community.

Deer Lodge, Tennessee

This small community on the Cumberland Plateau had a group of Polish families settle there shortly after World War I. The land was very poor, but the Poles attempted to correct the erosion through use of grasses, cover crops, and manure. Today they raise good potatoes and have a diversified farming program, but at great cost in effort and with a high expenditure for fertilizer. Nevertheless, they have made a much more successful return on their farming than have the native population.

Rugby, Tennessee

This community is also on the Cumberland Plateau. It was the scene of an unusual colonization plan when in 1879 a group of upper class Englishmen attempted to develop here a resort and university center as well as an "agricultural paradise." The community failed for the young aristocrats were more interested in play than in work, many of their plans were impractical, and there was mismanagement and inefficiency plus land difficulties, conflicting titles, over-lapping claims, and a typhoid epidemic in 1881. Only a few buildings remain to mark this unsuccessful enterprise.

Cullman, Alabama

The Cullman community in Cullman County, Alabama, offers a good example of the contrast between the farming methods of descendants of German settlers and those coming from the State of Georgia, for these two groups make up the chief population of the community. In 1939, 91 percent of the Germans were owners compared with 50 percent for all county farm operators. Hardly any German families were on relief although they made up over 5 percent of the population. Their homes were kept nicely, their crops were diversified, and they relied less on credit farming.

Baldwin County, Alabama

Around 1900 various immigrant groups including Germans, Greeks, Scandinavians, Italians, Frenchmen, and Poles arrived in this county. Although the soil was poor, these groups have made this county one of the two most advanced agricultural counties in the State, the other being Cullman County mentioned above.

Alexandria, Louisiana

Near this town are two settlements of Bohemians who were brought down by local business groups to cultivate some coarse, chalky, infertile soil located near the fertile, alluvial lands that partially surrounded the town. Their efforts were only partially successful because of the poor condition of the land. However, they did better than any natives who were farming on similar land.

Other cultural islands can be found in Gluckstadt, Mississippi, Hammond, Louisiana, and parts of Texas and Arkansas. An article by the same author in the April, 1943 issue of *Economic Geography* discusses this subject further.

Cotton-Growing Communities, Study No. 2 (Case Studies of 10 Rural Communities and 10 Plantations in Arkansas). By Benson Y. Landis and George Edmund Haynes. New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Interracial Publications Number 28, September, 1935. Pp. 47. **A-7**

Purpose: This study was made to show how Negroes in Arkansas were living in 1934 in rural communities and plantations that were dependent on a cotton economy. These areas were located in seven counties of the State.

The ten rural communities studied had more than twice as many Negroes as whites. Over fifty percent of the white families owned their farms, while about a quarter of the Negroes were farm owners. Negro land owners were rare. More than half of the Negro farmers had total net annual incomes of less than \$300 in 1933. Most of the farmers could barely read and write. Hospital facilities were often not available and housing was inadequate. Nearly two-thirds of the homes were unscreened although the communities were in mosquito infested areas.

The 18 Negro churches in the 10 communities had an average membership of 133 in 1933. This average was a slight decline from 1929. The average membership of these Negro churches was considerably less than the membership of 23 other organizations such as burial societies, insurance associations, and fraternal orders located in these communities.

On the 10 plantations studied, the Negro population was almost 96 percent of the total population. Each plantation averaged six white persons and almost 144 Negroes. "Out of the total Negro population of 7,187 in the ten communities probably more than two-thirds had some organizational connection besides their churches." Women outnumbered men as church members.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration program apparently forced a slight reduction in the number of tenants on plantations between 1933 and 1934, since each plantation reduced the cultivation of its cotton land an average of 25 percent. The plantations were raising more food and feed crops.

All of the plantations had a commissary where the prices were generally higher than elsewhere. The homes of the plantation tenants were better screened and had better water supply systems on the average than did the homes of the Negro farm owners.

The study showed that better educational facilities (enforced school attendance, longer school terms, etc.) improved health conditions (more doctors, better sanitation), more adequate community organizations (recreation centers, better trained ministers, union of churches), better landlord-tenant relations (written instead of verbal contracts, better commissary service), sufficient credit arrangements (lower interest rate, conditions enabling the purchase of a home), and better home and farm environment through diversification and home improvements were needed.

"Rural Community Adjustments to Recent Population Shifts in Selected Areas of the Southwest." By Olen E. Leonard. *Social Forces*, Vol. 23, October 1944. Pp. 41-46. **A-8**

Purpose: This paper shows the effects of population migration on the southern rural community.

The South, during the war, proportionately had a bigger population shift into non-agricultural work than any other part of the country, the Bureau of

Labor Statistics reported, for more than 600,000 people from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina between October 1939 and October 1942 entered non-agricultural work who had not been so employed previously. From April 1, 1940, to January 1, 1942, the rural-farm population of these five states decreased by about 500,000 people or 7.5 percent. "There is considerable evidence that a sizeable portion of employables who have left farms during the war crisis have moved first at least into jobs in the smaller towns vacated by those who left the small towns for the city."

The net population loss of the five Southeastern States between 1940 and 1943 was approximately 144,000; yet the metropolitan population of these states gained some 399,000 people. Thus the non-metropolitan population of the states lost approximately 550,000 people. According to the author, it is possible that these Southeastern counties that are highly rural lost a significant number of people during the war. That is particularly true of the counties having symptoms of agricultural problems such as high tenancy rates. This situation is further evidenced by use of a level of living index. Those counties whose index is low had a high out-migration rate. "Counties with heavy Negro population seemingly have lost more heavily than others."

The author's conclusions of recent community changes that will probably last are: (1) Migration has been to the urban areas. The Southeast as a whole has lost population, but the urban areas have increased. (2) The heaviest migration seems to come from "rural problem areas." (3) War migration appears to be less selective regarding race than has been usually assumed. It has enabled Negroes to assume better jobs. (4) Lack of labor has resulted in higher wages for farm help to improve the social and economic position of the Negro and poor white. (5) Migration has greatly affected rural education in some areas, since teachers have accepted better jobs and enrollments have dropped because of the demand for labor. (6) Rural church attendance decreased; the financial position of most churches was bettered. (7) Health and medical services decreased, as doctors and nurses entered the armed forces or moved to industrial areas and cities. (8) Farmers are more dependent on each other for the use of equipment and labor. (9) Town-country relationships have improved with the town people helping sometimes to relieve labor shortages. (10) No particular effect on rural recreation is noticeable; there are fewer young people in the rural areas.

A-9 *Rural Social Areas in Missouri.* By C. E. Lively and C. L. Gregory. Columbia: University of Missouri, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station. Research Bulletin 305, August 1939. Pp. 39.

Purpose: The study was designed as an aid to show the degree of correspondence of social areas with soil areas and type-of-farming areas and as a useful tool for the administrative analysis of rural social problems.

Missouri is often considered the State where the culture of the South and the North merge and where that of the East joins and becomes part of the West. Half of the population is rural, with the agriculture of the State being quite varied.

The eleven counties in the northwestern corner of the State and extending along the Missouri River to a point some 60 or 70 miles east of Kansas City

constitute one of the better sections of the State. Rural levels of living are relatively high. In 1930, about four-fifths of the farm families had automobiles. The standards of education were superior to those found in other rural sections of the State. There were proportionately more foreign-born persons in rural areas than could be found in the State as a whole but the foreign born population of rural Missouri is relatively small and significant only in limited sections. Nearly half the population were church members in 1930. The birth rates were lower and the family size smaller than in the poorer sections of Missouri. The proportion of elderly persons was pronounced. The land is level to rolling and the soil is fertile. Large farm incomes, high farm values, much farm machinery, and emphasis on the production of corn, oats, and hogs make farming in this section resemble that carried on in the better areas of Iowa and Illinois. The cultural pattern of the farm communities in some of these counties is somewhat urban in character as the farms emphasize part-time, truck, and dairy agriculture.

Another area of Missouri with relatively high levels of living can be found in all the counties north of the Missouri River, excluding those indicated in the above paragraph. This area extends along the Kansas border as far south as Joplin and Ncosho. Standards of education are relatively high. The area has the lowest birth rates and the smallest families of any rural section in the State. Approximately forty-five percent of the total population were church members in 1930. The topography is rolling to hilly but most of the land is suitable for farming. Corn and oats are the principal crops. Agriculture is highly commercialized. The culture of some areas is influenced to a considerable extent by persons engaged in mining. Several cities, including St. Louis, influence the development of the area. Truck and part-time farming, good roads, large department stores, and movement between city and farm have furnished ways by which new customs could be acquired.

The area in the south-central part of the State has a culture which is immediate between that found in the north and that prevailing in the extreme south. The index of rural-nonfarm plane of living is fifteen percent lower than the average for the State. The level of education based on school attendance and expenditures, illiteracy rates, and subscriptions to magazines is slightly below the average for the State. This section has fairly large families and rather high birth rates. A little over one-third of the population were church members in 1930. Less participation in organizational activity is in part attributable to the fact that the roads in this area are not as good as the roads in many other parts of the State.

The extreme south central part of Missouri makes up the Ozark Mountain section of the State. It is in many ways one of the rural problem areas of Missouri for standards of education are as low as in any section of the State, community participation is comparatively slight as evidenced by the fact that only twenty percent of the population in 1930 were church members. High birth rates and large families are distinguishing characteristics of this section; the area is also subject to heavy losses of population through emigration. The area is poor agriculturally and much of the land now being farmed should be removed from cultivation. The topography is hilly to mountainous. Timber resources have been exhausted and farm incomes are lower than in any other section of the State.

The Southeast Missouri Lowlands emphasize cotton and corn as the chief crops. Although the area has valuable resources, it has a low level of living. Standards of education are low. Because of large families and small farms, the density of the rural population is greater in this section than in any other rural area of the State, yet community social life is far below what it should be. About 23 percent of the 1930 population were church members. Although the topography is level, the soils fertile, and crop production high, the fact that in some counties as many as 90 percent of the farms are operated by tenants, helps explain at least in part the failure of this area to realize its potentialities. Mobility rates are high and movement from farm to farm is a yearly event for many families.

The farmers of St. Louis County usually are producing goods that are readily consumed in St. Louis City and its adjoining suburbs, and are influenced in their mode of life by urban contacts. Rural levels of living are high in St. Louis County. The standards maintained by the schools are above those generally found in Missouri. The population is younger than that of the State as a whole. The agriculture consists mostly of part-time, truck, and dairy farming. Between 1930 and 1935, the number of persons living on farms in the county increased by 18 percent. Most of this resulted from the movement of families from the city to the rural areas.

A-10 *Migration of Population in Five Oklahoma Townships.* By Robert T. McMillan. Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Experiment Station Bulletin No. B-271, October 1943. Pp. 61.

Purpose: The study compares the composition, patterns of migration, and social-economic status of all non-migrant population living in the open-country of five selected townships in Craig, Haskell, Major, Lincoln and Beckham counties, Oklahoma, at any time from 1930 through 1940, since information on persons who had moved during the period was obtained from various sources.

The population of Oklahoma in 1930 consisted largely of migrants from other states (51.9 percent of the population). At the same time, Oklahoma had 28.6 percent of its population born in the State living elsewhere. This is higher than the national average.

The volume of farm-to-farm migration has been very great, particularly among tenants and farm laborers. These facts are important since migration has such social significance. Migration as used in the study refers to any move or change of dwelling.

The counties were chosen for their varying conditions. Craig County is a general farming area and also has a few small individually-operated coal mines. It was considered an average county. Haskell County represents the poor cotton county. Lincoln County is a little better off than Haskell but is characterized by over-population, small farms, and eroded worn-out lands. Major County has commercial farming predominating with wheat and livestock providing the principal cash income. It is in the northwestern part of the State.

Beckham County represents the southwestern part of the state with its emphasis on cotton, mechanization, etc. There is a high proportion of males in the State, in the counties, and in the townships surveyed (with only one exception).

"Despite the fact that Oklahoma has relatively high fertility rates, the rural-farm population of the state and the total population of all sample townships generally were smaller in 1940 than at any census period since 1910." Migration accounts for the difference. Weather affects some areas so far as number of population is concerned, many leaving when a drouth appears. Mobility was the most striking characteristic of the population in townships that were surveyed. Seven out of every eight persons moved one or more times from 1930 to 1940 either into, out of, or within the township. The main movement of population was away from the home township, with over 50 percent of all persons being classed as out-migrants. This was mostly from cotton growing areas. There were more males than females moving into the communities and within the communities. More females moved away into other villages and into cities, but more males moved away to other open-country areas.

A high proportion of the people leaving the communities were in the productive age group, 15 to 44 years. Out-migrants were characterized educationally by two extremes—a group of young people with better than average schooling and a group of older people, especially between age 35 and 54, with inferior education and other handicaps. The heads of out-migrant households consisted mostly of native Oklahomians moving chiefly to find better economic opportunities. A heavy percentage of these men were born in rural areas of parents who were tenants. One-third of the population had lived less than two years at the last dwelling place. Only one-eighth of the population had lived in the same place ten years or longer.

"The relative scarcity of employment opportunities in Oklahoma in comparison with certain other states partially explains the heavy migration from the State and the small amount of immigration into it." 37.8 percent of the Oklahomians leaving the State went to California. As Oklahoma grows older "more of its population will be native, and increasingly its rural communities will be sending rather than becoming migrants." More of the population moved between rural farm areas than moved between the rural open-country areas and villages or cities.

The more important reasons for migration were: (1) The excess of births over deaths and the failure of the economic setup to absorb all the persons seeking work. (2) Intensive droughts during half of the period 1930-1940. (3) Price changes for farm commodities, bankrupting many rural families. (4) Increased farm mechanization. (5) Crop control programs, linked with mechanization, that tended to eliminate farm workers. (6) Practice of "privilege" or "bonus" rentals which the sharecropper had to pay the farm owner, making his income too small to continue farming. Reasons for movement, besides economic, include personal preferences, social betterment, social conflict, and health.

Widespread landlessness is closely associated with the mobility of the people. A higher percentage of farm tenants and farm laborers were migrating than any other groups. "The general direction of change in tenure following migration was toward a reduction of croppers and tenants and an increase of owners and laborers. Migration within the townships and migration into the townships improved the migrant's status as a result of moving, while those moving away from the townships shifted from occupations as farm operators to become farm laborers or to enter non-agricultural fields. There were few farm owners leaving the townships, but there were great losses from the landless classes, particularly

tenants and croppers. Three-fourths of the non-migrant households surveyed owned a home or farm as against only one-tenth of the out-migrant households.

The Sewell scale was used to determine social-economic status and the results showed that non-migrant households have a higher social economic status than migrant households. Likewise, non-migrants occupied land of a superior quality than did migrants. The greatest displacement in farming has been among cotton farmers. The greatest losses in number of farms in Oklahoma between 1930 and 1940 were in the predominantly cotton counties. Of the various types of federal programs, the AAA and Feed and Seed Loan programs benefitted non-migrants more than migrants. The relief and rehabilitation programs favored migrants.

A-11 A Cooperative Study of Three Experiments in Rural Community Reconstruction in the Southeast. By Donald M. Royer. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1943. Pp. 72. (Unpublished M.A. thesis)

Purpose: During the 15 years prior to 1943 more than 50 projects in rural rehabilitation in Southeastern counties and communities have been undertaken by government agencies and by individuals and private foundations. This story deals with 3 such community-wide projects, all privately sponsored, to aid tenants or small land owner farmers.

The communities were Little River Farm in Abbeville County, South Carolina, which is on the border of the Cotton-Piedmont and the Black Belt; Macedonia, Georgia, in Habersham County on the border of the Cotton-Piedmont and Blue Ridge regions; and Delta Cooperative Farms in Bolivia and Holmes counties in the Mississippi Delta.

The *Macedonia* experiment was started by one man in 1936. A group of five families located in the Macedonia neighborhood of Habersham County, Georgia, trying to develop economic cooperation on a consuming, marketing, and producing basis. There is a manager, selected locally, to guide the project's 1,240 acres. With time, an expansion in the number of families is predicted. The land is still owned by the organizer of the project, who has about \$20,000 invested in the project. He will relinquish rights when part of the investment is paid back. The community is still far from self-supporting and the war drained off most of its manpower to jobs in war factories. There is some friction among the members. Social life is concentrated around business meetings on cooperative affairs and in church programs as the one church in the neighborhood is the most influential social institution. The founder of the project has attempted to build up some informal educational activities. The project is still regarded with suspicion by many people in the area. Its future as an enduring enterprise is uncertain.

Abbeville, S. C., Little River Farm was begun in 1940 by two midwestern Quakers, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, to give families greater security of land tenure by allowing them to purchase their plots over a period of years or by long term lease. Cooperative practices are encouraged whenever advisable. The farm in 1943 had 7 white families and 3 Negroes. Scientific land use practices are developed and the building of a stronger community socially, spiritually, and economically, is a goal. The farm is still far from self-supporting.

The Delta Cooperative Farms. This project was begun in 1936 at Rochdale, Mississippi and expanded in 1938 to include Providence Cooperative Farm near Greenwood, Mississippi. The farms were for dispossessed sharecroppers and were organized by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and by several social and religious leaders like Dr. Sherwood Eddy and Sam Franklin. The farm at Rochdale had 2,138 acres for 24 white and Negro families. Although the resident families were to become owners by amortizing the investment of the group sponsoring the project, profits usually were not enough for this purpose. Each farm was run by a local council of five but was subject to a vote by the sponsors. The Rochdale farm was later sold and the Providence Farm organized because of its use for more diversified farming. Dairying and cotton provided the cash income for the 11 families. The war caused most of these families to leave for better paying jobs. A group of Negroes connected with the project have a cooperative association to advance religious, economic, educational and medical policies.

All three projects were organized to help build a healthier and more satisfying way of living in rural communities by helping others to help themselves.

The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities. By Frederick Lynne Ryan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. Pp. 120. **A-12**

Purpose: This book deals with the rise of coal communities in Oklahoma, their prosperous years, and their years of difficulty since 1923, together with a discussion of the rehabilitation of the communities.

In 1934 there were 78 coal mining communities, varying in size from 50 people to 12,000 people in Oklahoma, all located in the east-central and northwestern parts of the State. The total population was 54,000 in 1930 and about 45,000 in 1934.

"By 1900, the coal miners of Oklahoma were mostly specialized industrial workers living in a semi-self sufficient agricultural region." The first coal mine was opened in 1875. Most of the coal was used for neighboring railroads. The coal mining communities developed as an appendage to the coal mine, since most were away from population centers; they were largely company villages. The first miners were American, English, and Welsh, but there were about 900 miners from eastern and southern Europe, as well as some Negroes. Much of the land was owned by Indians who leased coal mining rights. By 1900, following a period of industrial strife, the mine communities were becoming better organized, with sewerage and water systems, sidewalks, etc. World War I provided another period of prosperity to the mining towns, but from 1922 to 1933 the mines declined and finally collapsed because of competition, increasing use of fuel oil and natural gas in place of coal, strikes, bank failures, union squabbles, etc. In 1935 the coal communities were desolate and run down. The miner's diet was poor; he had insufficient medical care, his home was in bad repair, clothing was inadequate. Almost 90 percent of the coal miners in some areas were without jobs at that time.

In addition to immediate measures to relieve the situation such as public works programs, unemployment insurance, public assistance, etc., the author

suggests—as long range goals—nationalization of the coal fields and a program of collective cooperative farms.

- A-13** *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901 to 1931.* By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 234, January 1933. Pp. 56.

Purpose: This study analyzes "the incidence in Louisiana of the various types of farmers' trade centers, their structure and organization, the interrelationships existing between them, and the changes they have undergone since 1901."

Rural organization in Louisiana is primarily of the isolated farm type with the village as the trade center. The consolidated schools are in both the villages and the open country, while many of the churches are in the open country. The French speaking people of southern Louisiana present a variation of this pattern for most of their homes are close together along a river or stream, and give the appearance of a long one-street village with all the houses located on one side. Variations are also shown by the plantations in the Delta area, with their cotton economy and heavy preponderance of Negroes, and by the sugar cane plantations of southeastern Louisiana.

In 1901 there were 1,005 trade centers in the State, excluding New Orleans and Shreveport. In 1916, there were 1,256 trade centers and in 1931, 1,008 such areas. Based on population, there was a trade center for every 1,450 persons in 1931 compared to one for every 1,076 individuals in 1901. Excluding the urban centers, the ratio of rural trade centers to the total population was one center to every 1,050 people in 1901 and a ratio of one to 1,460 persons in 1931. Faster communication, increased mobility, and a widening social horizon helped to reduce the number of trade centers. The decrease in the number of centers was confined to the smaller trade areas with less than fifty businesses in the community.

Only 62.3 percent of the 1,008 trade centers in Louisiana in 1931 were thirty or more years old. 435 trade centers appeared and disappeared between 1901 and 1931; these centers were all small and short-lived. There is a progressive decrease in the rate of appearance of new centers, and the trend is for continued elimination and consolidation. The greatest decreases have occurred in the areas immediately surrounding a metropolitan center and also in the areas furthest from the cities.

Those rural centers possessing a post office, railroad, or good highway in 1901 were the rural areas most likely surviving in 1931. The new trade centers are most often along a railroad. The trend towards specialization of types of business as a center becomes larger is very evident. The general store, hotel, drygoods store, sawmill, and bank are characteristic businesses in the small rural community; while the bakery, meat market, and building supplies store are types of specialized business found in the larger trade centers. A greater proportion of the social activities of the State was being organized about the larger trade centers.

Mobility and Fertility Rates of Rural Families in Robertson and Johnson Counties, Kentucky, 1918-1941. By Irving A. Spaulding and Howard W. Beers. Lexington: University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 451, June 1943. Pp. 20. **A-14**

Purpose: This study attempts to determine what relation there may be between the fertility rate and the residential-mobility rate in two widely different rural areas of Kentucky.

Robertson County, in the blue grass hill region of the State, is about 65 miles northeast of Lexington. Tobacco, corn, wheat, alfalfa are important crops. The farms are small, tenants are fewer than in most of the blue grass region, and the population of the county reached its highest point in 1880. Johnson County is in the isolated mountainous section of eastern Kentucky. The soil is poor; the farms are small; corn, hogs, garden produce, and poultry for home use were the principal agricultural products. The population of this area has increased with each census.

Mobility was generally higher in Robertson than in Johnson County, and fertility was generally lower. The traditions of fixed residence and of strong family life in Johnson County caused low mobility to occur with high fertility, while the relaxing of these traditions in Robertson County resulted in high mobility and low fertility. Mobility rates and fertility rates were lowest in the upper economic groups of the two counties.

Attitudes Toward Rural Migration and Family Life in Johnson and Robertson Counties, Kentucky, 1941. By Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers. Lexington: University of Kentucky, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 452, June 1943. Pp. 40. **A-15**

Purpose: This study attempts to learn attitudes toward migrating and decreasing family size in two rural counties of Kentucky.

This bulletin on attitudes toward migration and family life is a companion work to bulletin 451 issued by the same agency which dealt with mobility and fertility rates in Johnson and Robertson Counties between 1918 and 1941 (A-14). Robertson County is in the blue grass area of Kentucky, while Johnson County is in the eastern mountainous area of the State. In Robertson County the principal reasons given for migration were low economic return on farms, dislike of youth for farm work, and government crop reduction restrictions. In Johnson County, the smallness of the farms and poor land were mentioned frequently. "Majority opinion in Robertson considered that too many youths leave farms, and that farm labor is made scarce thereby. Johnson County informants stressed decreased farm production and relief of pressure on land as consequences of youth migration."

"Among the Robertson County families who had moved, two-thirds did not participate in clubs or other community gatherings, either in the community of present residence or in that of former residence. The majority of informants reporting decline in family size was greater in Robertson County than in Johnson, and the explanation of this trend in terms of higher costs and standards was more frequently offered in Robertson. Robertson County opinion was less favorable to the effects of high school education than was Johnson opinion.

There were fewer assertions that high school training helps youth get jobs and more that it reduces the willingness of youth to work."

- A-16** *Rural Neighborhoods and Communities in 13 Kentucky Counties, 1941: Size, Population, and Social Structure.* By Frank Winchester. Lexington: University of Kentucky, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 450, June 1943. Pp. 20.

Purpose: The bulletin deals with the 146 communities with 666 neighborhood areas in thirteen counties of Kentucky, representing seven out of ten social subregions in the State. These communities and neighborhoods were delineated in other studies of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station.

The average number of communities per county was eleven and the average number of neighborhoods per county was fifty-one. Neighborhoods were larger and less frequent in the communities with improved roads. In nearly one-fifth of the neighborhoods, there were no all weather roads, and in only one-twentieth of them were the roads completely hard-surfaced. Two-thirds of the neighborhoods had less than twelve miles of road. In the average mountain neighborhood there were 35 to 45 families; in the hilly areas, 40 to 60 families; and in the more level areas, as many as 75 to 100 families. Half of the neighborhoods had schools, churches, and stores, while the remainder had two or less such services available. Schools were the most important factor holding a neighborhood together. Next came churches. Topography came next due to the difficult terrain in some parts of the State. Kinship ties were fourth.

As stated above, there was an average of about eleven communities to a county. In 88 percent of these communities there were fewer than eight neighborhoods and in 78 percent of the community centers there were less than 300 residents. Two-thirds of the communities had an average radius of two to four miles. County seats were the largest community centers.

TIDEWATER-PIEDMONT:

- A-17** *The Riner Community, An Area of Population Flow.* By Charles G. Burr and Louis E. Mosely. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Report No. 21, May 1942. Pp. 24.

Purpose: The study portrays the many factors that make a community what it is and attempts to show deficiencies and some remedies for maladjusted conditions in the locality.

Riner, an agricultural community, is located in the southwest corner of Montgomery County, Virginia. Community boundaries are largely determined by the attendance area of the high school located in the village center. The economy of the community is dependent on livestock. Riner is in a mountain valley area, and its development has been determined by its topography and transportation facilities. At the time of the survey, the village center had five roads, two of which were paved highways radiating from it. The village has a trade

area of some four miles in diameter, but many in the community now trade at the county seat which is only five miles away, as well as at other larger points. The village is losing some of its trade because other localities have lower prices and more goods, and the farmer is able to sell his products easier and transportation to these places is easy.

In 1940, the Riner community had 454 white families and 22 Negro families. The village center had 153 inhabitants in 1940, in contrast with 262 persons in 1930. Most people in the community were of native born white stock, but almost half of the heads of white families had not been in the area 20 years previously, having migrated into the community during that period. "The movement of population through the community is due to the fact that Riner is between an area of population pressure and an area where there are more economic opportunities." People move in from an adjoining mountainous county that has a high birth rate and many Riner natives move to Roanoke and other nearby cities where there are better economic opportunities. This turnover results in the loss of leaders, reduces support of local organizations, and causes the community to educate children who will move elsewhere when they are adults.

The Riner community itself has a very high birth rate, with the highest rates being among the farm tenants and the unskilled farm laborer families. It is harder today for a tenant laborer to become a farm owner than formerly. This fact accounts for some of the population mobility from the community. There has been an increase in the number of people living in Riner who work in nearby towns.

The size of farms has dwindled, with about 50 percent of the farms in 1930 having less than 50 acres. In 1930, practically half the farm operators in the district worked part time off their farms. The fact that 53 percent of the white taxpayers in the community in 1937 were assessed less than \$2.50 taxes each indicates the poverty of many of these people.

Organizations are weak in Riner because of a lack of solidarity among the various elements of the population in the community. Also other areas are exerting their influence, particularly economic, on the Riner community. Such worthwhile organizations as a livestock shipping cooperative, a community league, as well as others, have flourished and then disappeared.

The 11 white churches of the area had an average membership of 42 people in 1939. The church represented the organization in which there was the greatest amount of community participation.

The school youth had many organizations in which they could participate, but the out-of-school youth had few organizational contacts. The Riner school was doing a good job, but only 50 percent of the youth of the community go to high school. The school needs more vocational training in subjects other than agriculture and commercial subjects. Also, there is a distinct need for better recreational outlets for those young people who are not attending school.

In many ways Riner is an above average rural community, yet it has not integrated effectively the various neighborhoods so as to have a balanced and smoothly functioning community. The less privileged classes of the community must be allowed to participate more in the life of the Riner community, and those organizations necessary to meet the economic needs of the area must be revived and made as vigorous as they were a decade or more ago.

- A-18** *Beaverdam, A Rural Community in Transition.* By Allen D. Edwards. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 340, May 1942. Pp. 64.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to analyze patterns of structure and functioning of a rural community in central Virginia. Beaverdam is in Hanover County and is supposed to be typical of communities in midland Virginia.

The period 1685 to 1785 was the settlement period for this area. The plantation system reached the height of its development from 1785 to 1860. "Among the influences on present day community life lingering from the predominant plantation economy are the general standing and cultural outlook of certain families which give them prestige and leadership in local affairs, determining their ideals and standards, and forming the basis of social stratification. The family standards and attitudes of the poor whites, formed in the earlier period when they were largely excluded from community participation, also tend to persist. . . . The too exclusive attention under the plantation economy to the soil-exhausting cash crop, tobacco, contributed to the present large amount of poor land and hence the poverty of many families."

From 1860 to the time of the study was the period of change from a plantation to a family farm economy, characterized by the sharecropping system, the reduction in the size of the plantation into smaller farming units, a more democratic social organization, an increase in cooperative organizations, and improvement of the economic position of the Negro.

"Chief dependence for a livelihood for Beaverdam families is placed directly or indirectly upon agriculture and the timber resources of the area. The only other important sources of employment are work on the railroad or in nearby industries. . . . Exploitation of soil and timber resources rather than a policy of conservation has been the rule."

The median size of farms declined from 259 acres in 1860 to 95 acres in 1930. There was a decline from 141,205 acres of improved farm land in the county in 1860 to 79,124 acres of such land in 1940. Tobacco remains the principal cash crop, but it is declining in importance. Poultry production is becoming increasingly important. There has been a decrease in tenancy, with only one out of six whites, and the same proportion of Negro, farm operators in the county renting in 1940.

The population of Hanover County increased only 27 percent from 1790 to 1940, while Beaverdam District actually had fewer people in 1940 than in 1880. Net out-migration has been greater in the Beaverdam District than in the county, although fertility is higher in the district than in the county. The net migration of Negroes has exceeded that of whites. The proportion of Negroes to the total population decreased from 50 percent in 1880 to 37 percent in 1930 and 35 percent in 1940. The high fertility rate of Beaverdam district was sufficient to have increased the white population three or four times between 1860-1930 if there had been no migration. However, many people had to leave the community to find work as there was no corresponding increase in the industrial or agricultural productiveness of the area. However, there is now a decline in the rate of natural increase.

At least one-third of the farm owners, two-thirds of the farm tenants, and about one-third of the semi-skilled labor families in the Beaverdam district had

a bare subsistence income. These families comprised nearly half the white families in the community. From 5 to 10 percent of the white families in the community had incomes of over \$2,500. In 1930, over half the white farm operators lived in houses valued at less than \$1,000. The rural electrification program has helped to improve living conditions.

The village center had a population of 200 in 1940. The community itself has 11 neighborhoods. The most characteristic institution is the general store, found in nine of these neighborhoods. It remains the most important trading center. One reason for this is shown by the fact that one-third of the farm owners and half of the tenants and unskilled laborers in the community did not have automobiles in 1938. There was a 90 percent ownership of automobiles by the non-farm families of Beaverdam. The development of good roads has made possible community-wide activities and has tended to make families less dependent on local neighborhoods for trading, social, and recreational activities.

Next to the general store, the church was the most characteristic neighborhood institution. Churches were to be found in six neighborhoods. Approximately four out of every five white families in the community had one or more members attending church. Most of those families not participating in the church were from the lowest income classes. Church participation in the area tended to reflect social class distinctions, but all classes were included in the church to a greater extent than in any other types of organization.

The consolidated high school became the community center about 1939. Other community organizations at the time of the survey were a community league, two home demonstration clubs, a garden club, a bridge club, a farmer's union, two baseball clubs, a 4-H Club, a chapter of the Future Farmers of America, and home economics clubs centering in the school. "Participation in organized activities, other than the church, tends to be limited to the higher income and more successful occupational classes. . . . The failure of the lower income groups to take part results in part from a general apathy of all groups toward civic organizations as well as from meagre income, lack of transportation, etc."

There was no comprehensive program of public welfare in the area until 1930. The depression forced a change in the attitudes of the people toward relief. Before 1930, people on relief were considered trifling, but, with the depression, no stigma was attached to those seeking relief. The county has a health department and a comprehensive farm program that includes a county agent, a home demonstration agent, extension service workers, a farmer's union, plus the several federal farm programs.

The Negro still remains an important source of domestic and unskilled labor in the county although there has been much out-migration. There were 1,034 Negroes in the county in 1870 and 365 in 1930. The educational status of the Negro has gradually improved but more than two-thirds of the male heads of Negro households in 1930 had a fourth grade education or less. The Negroes of the community have a low standard of living although most of them are not in extreme poverty. The average cash income per Negro family was less than \$400 in 1938. The organized social life of the Negro is centered in his church.

"The Beaverdam community, typical of the Piedmont sun-cured tobacco area of the state, has been extremely wasteful of human and economic resources.

This prodigality has arisen partly from the fact that human labor and the products of the land which they chiefly produced have been held in low esteem."

- A-19** *A Study of Personal and Social Organization: An Explorative Survey of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.* By Frank Goodwin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. 197.

Purpose: The author provides an introduction to the various factors making up the social organization and shaping the lives of people in a large area of Maryland.

The eastern shore of Maryland has nine counties with an area of over 3,300 square miles and a 1940 population of more than 195,000. There are only seven towns in the area with more than 2,500 inhabitants, and the largest of these has only about 11,000 people. There are about 46 people per square mile in the rural areas on the Eastern Shore. The village dwellers make up a very important part of the population, for nine out of every twenty people in this section live in small villages. The relatively high population density means that contacts between the people within the area are frequent. There has been little change in population since 1900. Almost 45 percent of the 1930 population was rural nonfarm. Of 166 post offices in the area, 156 were in settlements of less than 1,500 people. Nearly 74 percent of the population of the Eastern Shore are native born whites, while 25 percent are Negroes. Jim Crow laws are rigidly enforced and residential areas are segregated. The percentage of Negroes to the total population has been steadily declining.

Farming and jobs connected with sea foods are the main ways of making a living. Agriculture is becoming increasingly important, while those occupations associated with fishing have declined. Corn, wheat, hay, and tomatoes, along with cattle raising, provide the principal agricultural pursuits. Most of the land on the Eastern Shore is farm land. Two-thirds of the farmers are landowners or part-owners. Nearly three-fourths of the farms are less than 140 acres. From 1929 to 1939, the number of farms decreased noticeably while the average size of farms increased. There are indications that a displacement of agricultural workers by machinery also exists.

Most of the small communities of the Eastern Shore are rather old and "sleepy towns—quaint, lazy, smugly satisfied." Most of the towns have no police force except for county and state officers. Some of the towns have well developed community programs. "All relations, even economic ones, are tempered and modified by the factor that they are personal rather than formal." There is much socializing between communities.

The area has lost many of its best potential leaders who found better economic opportunities elsewhere. A poll of leaders in the area revealed that the small business man in the rural communities was considered most often the real leader in the community. The clergymen polled only one choice out of every twenty-five and the educators did only slightly better. The "composite" leader type is a native of the Shore and more frequently from the third or earlier generation of his family who has lived in the community that length of time. He is a business man or lawyer and most likely has held some kind of political office. His education is above average but was received on the Eastern Shore.

He is an officer in his church and belongs to a limited number of clubs. He is successful financially and vocationally.

Family ties are strong. In the small towns and villages, the family spends a great deal of time together, and the farm family still has much of an economic basis in operating the farm. The age of marriage is, as a rule, lower in the urban centers but higher than in the rural centers with less tradition, background, and stability, while divorce is comparatively rare.

"The Eastern Shore is an area of slight personal and social disorganization. . . . There are few problems because changes in the area are slow. . . . There is satisfaction with the way of life."

Tangier Island, A Study of an Isolated Group. By S. Warren Hall, III. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. Pp. 122. **A-20**

Purpose: This study shows the effects of geography and of cultural patterns on the lives of a rather isolated community in Virginia.

This volume deals with the social organization of Tangier Island, Virginia, located in the middle of Chesapeake Bay about six miles below the Maryland-Virginia boundary. Only one-half of a square mile of the 3-1/5 square mile area of the island is land that is habitable. The homes are built on ridges that can be reached only on narrow boardwalks built over the marsh land. Thus, the population lives close together. Since there is so little land for farming, catching oysters, crabs and fishing provide the main livelihood. The population has great local mobility as the houses are well built and without cellars and thus can move easily on scows from ridge to ridge.

The settlements on Tangier were once spread out over six ridges and a few isolated islands but are now concentrated on one main ridge and two adjacent ones that are residential suburbs of the main ridge. The population of the island grew from 73 persons in 1820 to 1,120 in 1930.

Methodism is the dominant religion on the island, and the coming of this faith to the area gave the community a religious character that still persists. The Tangier Methodist Church is the best building on the island. The church attempts to prevent card playing, dancing, movies, and pool rooms. Religion enters into most aspects of community life.

The grocery and general stores on the island, plus a few others (including six ice cream stores), seem to provide sufficiently for the economic wants of the people since few islanders shop ashore except for marine supplies for their boats. The stores also provide the center of social activity for the men of the island. There are no real recreational facilities on the island, but attending the moving picture theater is quite popular in spite of the church's discouraging such attendance. Only a grade school education can be secured on the island. No books or magazines are sold there.

There is an interesting system of prepaid medicine that has existed from the earliest days with each family paying the physician a set amount each month in advance for which they can consult the doctor freely on any medical matter.

- A-21** *Youth Adjustments in a Rural Culture, Rockville Community, Hanover County, Virginia.* By Dorothy G. Jones. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Report No. 16, May 1941. Pp. 66.

Purpose: To analyze the Rockville community so as to determine the role and problems of youth within the community.

This monograph is based on a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina and was one of a series of studies on rural youth in Virginia sponsored by the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, the Works Projects Administration, and other agencies.

The Rockville community has an unusual degree of self-sufficiency. The people are independent and thrifty, and the community has exceptionally low rates in dependency, juvenile delinquency, and crime. Only one person was on W.P.A. rolls on April 1, 1940. Work is the basic virtue in the community, and youth is expected first to work and to get an education later if there is time. Almost all the white youth in the community are doing unskilled labor and have little hope of advancing into any skilled trades or professions other than farming.

The community had about 734 people living in 174 homes. The primary occupation of the great majority of men is agriculture, illustrated by the fact that almost 83 percent of the heads of households were farmers. Corn, wheat, barley, hay, and oats are the chief crops, while the sale of cream and eggs provide the chief source of cash income. 63 percent of the white families and 53 percent of the Negro families are farm owners. The average home of the white dweller is a one and a half or two story, five-room farmhouse, painted but not freshly painted, and with plenty of yard and garden space. Families are large, averaging almost five children for white families and almost seven for Negroes.

The community has had little migration, with most of the moving being done by its young people. Over half the married youth were still living with their parents. Life in the community is drab and youth are discouraged from any attempts at changing the community pattern. The emphasis in the community is on being economically independent and on not having many possessions to make life more comfortable. When a young man gets a job, it is assumed he will contribute to the family household and to the support of his parents.

"The home is the strongest force in the life of the people of Rockville." The school is superseding the church as the next most important community institution. There is an excellent school plant for the white youth but educational facilities for Negroes are poor. A higher proportion of girls than boys complete high school, while only one Negro completed high school since secondary school facilities for Negroes are fifteen miles from the community. The two factors causing youth to quit school before graduation were parental attitudes which made them feel that they were needed at home or in a self-supporting job, and the futility the youth felt in following an educational program which seemed unrealistic. Except for two young people who went to college to study a profession, there was no connection between the amount of training a young person had and the job he secured, for Rockville simply did not have too many jobs

of any value. However, to the youth who migrated from the community, the school was their most important community institution.

The community has two churches, with denominational affiliation being predominantly Baptist. Congregations at Rockville church services are large and enthusiastic. The fundamentalist character of their religion permeates the life of the Rockville community. Many people of the community are now attending churches in other areas. Outside of participation in the church and church organizations, the youth of Rockville have few organizational affiliations. More informal activities, such as swimming and hunting, are popular. Comparatively few youth were interested in motion pictures.

The author shows Rockville as "a small settlement of plain American rural folk whose simplicity of living standards, stability of life, religious ardor, enthusiasm for the soil, community of social interests and activities, general lack of so-called cultural polish, and widespread equality of opportunity and status hark back to a pioneer frontier society and easily distinguish the social group from others in nearby areas and from the general rural pattern of present day America."

Standards of Living in the Village of Crozet, Virginia. By E. L. Kirkpatrick and Evelyn G. Tough. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Record, Extension Series, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1931. Pp. 40. **A-22**

Purpose: (1) To obtain information on various phases of village life, and (2) to determine how a study of this type could be made a university class exercise in rural sociology.

The unincorporated village of Crozet, thirteen miles from Charlottesville, Virginia, had about 140 families in 1930 when the survey was made, approximately four-fifths of whom were white and the remainder Negro. The Negroes lived in two distinct localities in the village. The village is on the main line of a railroad and has three hard surfaced roads, one of which is a state highway. It had a post office, a bank, a drug store, a lumber company, a lawyer, two physicians, and other services. There is a 12-room school for whites, which also contains an auditorium seating 500. The Negroes have a two-room school. Four white churches and one Negro church are in the village, with three of the white churches having resident pastors.

The average size of the white families surveyed was 3.7 persons. The heads of families averaged at least a ninth grade education.

Crozet is in the center of a large apple and peach growing region. It is a comparatively new village, having originated as a shipping point in 1876.

The authors compare the distribution of the cost or value of family living for the principal groups of goods and services based on information secured from 104 white village families in Crozet during 1929-1930, 137 farm families of Bedford and Culpeper Counties, in 1927-1928, and 140 city families of Lynchburg, Virginia, during 1927-1928. The results of these comparisons showed that "from the standpoint of total costs or expenditures for all purposes, the poor village families appear to have had better living than did corresponding farm or city families. . . . Intermediate village families lived about as well as did intermediate farm families, but less well than did intermediate city families, if total cost of value of all goods and services is accepted as the measuring stick.

... Prosperous village families lived less well than did corresponding farm or city families, with expenditures for all purposes as an index of the standard of living." The authors point out that their figures are merely relative and that many factors entering into a standard of living are too abstract to measure. A comparison was also made of the standards of living of the 24 Negro families living in Crozet with 154 Negro farm families in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas, based on prior surveys made in 1919-1921. This comparison showed a higher standard of living for the Negro villagers in Crozet.

The leading citizens of the village believe that lack of incorporation of Crozet is the biggest drawback to the community. Some of the older citizens who want to hold down taxes have kept the village from incorporating. Incorporation would permit the securing of adequate public service facilities which are now lacking or which are insufficient or inadequate. It would improve community organization and leadership. However, it might create a break in the cooperative tendencies existing between the villagers and the open country folk in the area.

Few of the church patrons interviewed were satisfied with the religious service provided by their church expenditures. Some wanted more church activities for youth, others a more coordinated policy among the churches of the village. Church affairs and the affairs of other voluntary village groups were contrasted to the detriment of the church.

Voluntary organizations in the village included a woman's club which has a clubhouse, a dramatic club, a chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a lodge, and a volunteer fire department. The clubhouse of the Woman's Club was used by some of these organizations as a meeting place, and in addition it houses the village library. This library had a circulation of 2,500 books annually. It was operated by the Woman's Club with annual dues of 50 cents a family when they were willing to pay this small amount. The village also had ladies aid societies, missionary societies, youth groups, and card clubs. Many of the leading citizens wanted an organization like a board of trade or chamber of commerce to build up business in the area. The few youth groups were not adequate, for there was a definite need for better recreational facilities and activities for youth such as a Boy Scout organization.

The public schools and voluntary organizations like the Woman's Club were helping considerably to enlarge and better family life and community standards of living. The local government and the church setup needed revamping. These voluntary organizations in existence at the time of the study needed some changes, particularly activities to make life for the youth of the village more pleasant. Improved roads and development of trade at other points have caused many village residents to go elsewhere for entertainment. If Crozet were to develop and maintain adequate social institutions and agencies, the village would be able to have a higher standard of living.

- A-23** "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900-1930." By Carl Frederick Reuss. *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 2, March 1937. Pp. 66-75. Purpose: The study was designed to show what classes of population were migrating from a rural area in Virginia.

The community used in this study was the magisterial district of Stonewall, Richmond County, Virginia. During the 30 year period, 1900 to 1930, its popu-

lation declined from 1,002 to 826. In a breakdown of the population into upper, middle, and lower classes, it was stated that 90 percent of the upper class, 70 percent of the middle class, and 40 percent of the lowest class owned their land in 1900. In 1930, 93 percent of the upper class, 79 percent of the middle, and 48 percent of the lowest class owned their land. The lowest class has been increasing the size of its land holdings more than the other two classes.

In average size of family, the lowest class averaged 3.8 persons in 1900 and 5 persons in 1930. The upper class averaged 4.9 persons in 1900 and 4.1 in 1930. The upper class lost nearly one-fourth of its citizens during the period 1900-1930. The lower class increased by 11.9 percent over its 1900 level. "The upper class migrated in greatest proportion to the cities, where opportunities for personal advancement were greater." There was considerable migration into the area, mostly by the lower classes. The conclusion of the study is that the district is losing much of its better population.

EASTERN OLD SOUTH:

Owners and Tenants of Small Farms in the Life of a Selected Community. **A-24**

By Frank D. Alexander. Nashville: The Joint University Libraries, 1938.
Pp. 89.

Purpose: To study the effect of tenancy on community life.

This book is based on a doctoral dissertation at Vanderbilt University. It is a community study of tenancy and its effects on community life. The Stantonville community in the east-central part of McNairy County, Tennessee, was chosen since (1) it had a majority of tenants and a fairly large number of owners of small farms, thus eliminating the possibility of using a community with a plantation economy, (2) it had few Negroes, (3) cotton was its chief type of agriculture, and (4) the community had a fairly stable rate of tenancy since 1900.

One hundred sixty-one families, or 63.9 percent of the families in the community, were included in the survey; 105 were tenant families and the rest were owners. The community has three neighborhoods. The village center has several stores, a telephone exchange, a bank, a cotton gin, and a sawmill—all characterized by a lack of business. There is considerable kinship among families. The mass of people are poor with only a few well-to-do families. No Negroes are allowed in the community. Migration from the community was confined usually to nearby areas.

Life in Stantonville is focused on the family. The cotton economy forces women and children to become laborers in the field. Protection of health and of the aged is still a family matter in this community. Doctors, and particularly hospital services, are used very little when someone is ill. There is but slight resort to charity.

The average tenant family is larger than the average farm owner's family. The median size is over four people to a family which is typical of the rural farm population of Tennessee. People marry young, the women averaging 18 years and the men 21 at time of marriage. Marriages are stable, for there was only one divorce and one desertion out of a sample of 161 married couples

studied. Seventy-six percent of all families in the community are engaged in agriculture.

The soil is poor and hilly, the acreage devoted to corn and cotton cultivation is limited, and the ownership of farm machinery is negligible. Cash income is very low for both tenants and owners. Few people in the community own automobiles. Health conditions and practices are backward but the death rate is not unusually high.

The community has three schools, one of which has six teachers. There are no senior high school facilities in the community. Most of the children complete the eighth grade and go no further. Athletics are becoming more important as a school activity. Attempts at organizing a Parent-Teacher's Association have failed.

The four churches are the only voluntarily organized social institutions in the community. "Wives more frequently than husbands and husbands and wives in owner homes more frequently than wives and husbands in tenant homes are members of churches." Church services are held twice a month by one church and once a month by the remainder. Quarrels between church groups and between school groups tend to divide the community.

A-25 Making a Long Time Program in Vocational Agriculture for Sneads Community. By Ralph C. Carlisle. Gainesville: University of Florida. August 1932. Pp. 60. (Unpublished master's thesis)

Purpose: The author's thesis is that since each community has its own type of agriculture, long range programs for preparing youth in particular vocations in agriculture are sounder than teaching general farming practices.

The author presents a general discussion of his assumption and then uses the Sneads community in the eastern part of Jackson county, Florida, as an illustration for the formulation of an adequate vocational agriculture program in a rural area. The study includes a survey of 50 farms in the Sneads school district.

Jackson county is one of the oldest agricultural counties in the State and the people of the county and the Sneads community are very conservative. The population of the county has been increasing somewhat more rapidly than has the community population. In 1930, the Sneads community had 2,436 people, over 52 percent of whom were males. Almost 44 percent of the population were Negroes. The community has experienced very little increase in population since 1910. The population density of the county in 1930 was 34 people per square mile, while the Sneads community had a population density of 54 people per square mile.

The illiteracy rate was high, with only four other counties in the State having a higher rate. It was estimated that the over-all average educational level attained by the community was between the sixth and the seventh grades. The teachers were poorly educated and their salaries were far below the average paid to teachers in Florida.

In 1930 the average size of the farms was over ninety-two acres, which was somewhat larger than the average size of farms in the State and county. The land is rolling and well drained and the mean yearly temperature is 67 degrees. Of the 50 farms surveyed, 26 were operated by owners, 21 by renters, and the

rest by hired managers and overseers. The leading staple crops in 1932 were corn, oats, cotton, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, field peas, velvet beans, forage crops, watermelons, and tobacco. The farms were fairly well equipped but the farm buildings needed improvements. Homes and home surroundings were inadequate in terms of health, comfort, convenience and appearance. The value of farm dwellings was 55 percent of the average value of farm dwellings in the State in 1930.

This community of 58 square miles had a vocational agricultural department in the high school whose plant and equipment were fairly satisfactory, although more shop equipment was needed as well as more material for shop work.

Health conditions needed improving since malaria and hookworm were prevalent.

The author outlines a teaching program in vocational agriculture that he believes will be applicable to the community.

Postwar Employment Opportunities in an Agricultural Community in Saluda County, South Carolina. By Allen D. Edwards and Irving A. Spaulding. Clemson College: Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular 72, May 1946. Pp. 15. **A-26**

Purpose: To determine the opportunities for employment which may exist after the war in relation to the number of persons in military service and war work.

"This survey of Hollywood community in Saluda county represents a co-operative undertaking on the part of the South Carolina State Department of Education and the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology of Clemson Agricultural College. The results and conclusions are based upon a sample of approximately one-third of the white households of the community. The data were obtained during the fall of 1944 and rechecked in August 1945."

Hollywood community is purely agricultural without a "trade center." Six county stores, two cotton gins, a corn mill, and a farm shop constitute the only commercial nonfarm enterprises of the community. Farm work is the primary source of employment, although an increasing number engage in nonfarm work outside the community. The expansion of clothing factories in Saluda and the provision of bus transportation make it possible for women to live in this rural community while engaging in factory work away from home.

Cotton is the chief cash crop although there is a trend toward diversification. Agricultural practices are, in general, the same for both owners and tenants; however, owners are more numerous than tenants, operate on a larger scale, and have developed more specialized enterprises with emphasis upon poultry, dairying, fruit, or truck crops. Extensive interest was shown in the establishment of such services as an egg and poultry market, facilities for medical care, and for various repair services requiring little capital and a minimum of specialized training, all of which would improve employment opportunities and levels of living in the community. Among tenants, as well as owners, there was a demand for hired tractors for general farm work.

"Under conditions existing in 1945 less than one-fourth of those in military service or war work could expect to find farms available for rent or purchase

if all returned to the community, and some of these could do so only at the expense of an owner or tenant now engaged in farming. Opportunities for employment in this community, in addition to farm work, are to be found in sales work and in the establishment of services which are now readily found in or near urban centers. Such needs should furnish opportunity for some returned service men to make use of skills they may have learned while in service. Work in nearby towns or migration from the community may continue to be necessary for a large proportion of farm boys."

A-27 *An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area.* By Henry L. Fulmer. Clemson College: Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 320, June 1939. Pp. 70.

Purpose: This study of ten rural school districts in the western part of Pickens County, South Carolina, located in the northwestern section of the State, was made to show significant facts concerning the homes and schools in a rural community. Matters affecting the educational program of the area could thus be demonstrated.

The districts encompass an area of about 116 square miles or one-fifth of the county in an old Piedmont farming area. Except for one physician, every family in the area secures all or part of its income from the farm. The village center is Six Mile, with a post office, a store, two filling stations, an elementary school, a high school, and a small hospital. There are good roads available to the community.

Almost all of the population is white and the study excluded Negroes. 4,260 white people occupying 827 homes, an average of over five persons to a house, reside in the community. Over 54 percent of the families are tenants. However, there is no noticeable discrimination in social life between tenant and owner groups.

Few of the homes have more than a limited amount of actual home necessities. Items such as screened doors and windows were absent in nearly two-thirds of the houses. Only a small minority had running water, ice boxes, bath tubs, or similar items in the house. The same condition exists for all other necessities and other goods that help to make home life easier and better in a material way. It was quite usual to find homes that lacked radios, newspapers, or any sort of reading matter, the families saying they could not afford the expense.

The average farm had about 42 acres. Cotton furnished the chief cash crop and corn ranked second. The section is well suited for apple raising and the cultivation of vegetables, but there were no apple orchards and no vegetables were sold from the farms. There was only one cow to every five people in the community and one hog to every three people. The farms produce only a limited amount of their food requirements and the restricted cash crop of these farm families limited the amount of food which they could purchase, since the average cash income was \$325 per family.

Over 50 percent of the population was under 21 years of age, and over 28 percent of the youth of school age were not in school. The community had 11 elementary schools and 1 high school for its 10 school districts. Out of every 10 young people in the community, 6 were from tenant families, with this ratio being even greater for children under six. Youth from these tenant homes did

not secure as much education as did youth from owner homes. For every 15 children from tenant homes who were in grade school, there was 1 youth from a tenant home in high school in contrast to the owner class, who had 1 child in high school for every 2.5 children in grade school.

More youth from owner families leave the area for employment than do young people from tenant homes. Almost all the school children were in need of medical care.

The area is too poor to support an adequate educational program. Teachers were ill-trained and many apparently secured their jobs through political appointments. Good library service, adequate recreational facilities, and sufficient health education were lacking. The school system had too many trustees with too much control. There were too many school districts. The remedy requires school consolidation and more adequate State and Federal aid, combined with educational leadership and planning.

"A Qualitative Study of Rural Depopulation in a Single Township." By Wilson Gee. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 39, September 1933. Pp. 210-221. **A-28**

Purpose: An attempt to show the qualitative as well as the quantitative effects of migration in a selected area.

This article is a condensation of a study of population movements between 1900 and 1930 in Santuc Township, Union County, South Carolina. Santuc is an unincorporated crossroads hamlet in an entirely rural area. Within a radius of 25 miles of Santuc there are 11 textile mills. The study included Santuc and the area immediately surrounding it.

Population trends for the period included in the survey are shown below:

	1900	1930	Percent Change
Total population	2,844	1,893	-33.4
White	695	571	-17.8
Negro	2,149	1,322	-38.5

The population migration has been due chiefly to Negroes leaving for urban centers in the North and elsewhere. Also the community has been having a declining birthrate.

The author uses certain criteria, such as size of farms, to divide the white population into three classes to determine the effects of qualitative as well as quantitative migration. During the period 1900-1930, there was a large decrease in the percentages remaining in the upper class, a 15 percent increase in the middle class, and a 61.8 percent decrease in the lower class.

Numerically the largest loss to the city was from the upper class. Heavy losses among the lowest class have been due in large measure to the fact that many of them migrated to the cotton mill villages near the community.

- A-29** *Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi.* By Harold Hoffsommer and Herbert Pryor. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1941. Pp. 31.

Purpose: The purpose of this survey is to delineate the neighborhoods and communities of this county in the hill section of southern Mississippi for use in planning programs. There are six communities with some fifty neighborhoods in the county. These neighborhoods and communities originated from such factors as location on an early transportation route, good farming advantages, location on a favorable site of a water mill, and location of a railroad and at a sawmill.

Collins, the county seat with a population of 1,100, has a railroad, four highways, and many good gravel roads. Its services are adequate for residents of the village and inadequate for those living in the open-country. It was a sawmill center with a population of 2,500 at one time, but the timber was exhausted and the community became impoverished. Collins has not been able to develop a modern consolidated school because of conflicts between the community and the outlying areas. The various service areas of the Collins community do not coincide and the school, church, and other service areas sometimes are in conflict. However, the highways, the county, and the federal agencies located in the community are helping to broaden the county-wide influence of this town and to extend its boundaries.

Seminary is one of the oldest and most highly integrated communities in the county. There are no other communities nearby, so the people of the area to a considerable extent gin their cotton, buy their necessities, sell their produce, and transact their business within their own community. The failure of the lumber industry, a bank failure, a fire in the business district—all set back the village, but it has made progress towards recovery. There is a modern school. "The trade, the school, the organization areas are practically identical, and both village and open-country residents participate in these activities. The churches, as in other parts of the county, are established on a neighborhood basis and play little part in the community integration."

Mount Olive is a community of about 1,100 with railroad facilities and a transcontinental highway. It is a favorable community center because it has a cotton compress, a bank, well-stocked stores, a diversified farming area, excellent transportation facilities, comfortable homes, good schools and churches, and adequate social organizations. The community has long been known for its individualism, stability, and civic pride. Two factors retard the relations of the villagers and the open-country folk—the village organizations such as churches and lodges have functioned almost entirely for local residents, and the biracial composition of the community divides the interests of the people since the Negroes naturally have their own center.

Sanford is a declining community with a consolidated school as the center of community affairs. In addition to its white and Negro neighborhoods, the community also has the remnants of a Hungarian and Italian group left from a colony that was unsuccessful in developing a strawberry raising project. There are two white and one Negro churches, none of which is active in increasing participation of the open-country people in community affairs.

Taylorville community has a consolidated school, good trading facilities, and an office of the Rural Electrification Administration. The residents have more connection with an adjoining county than with Covington County.

Sumrall community is likewise more closely tied to an adjoining county in its social and economic activities than it is to its own county.

The churches of Covington County function chiefly on a neighborhood basis. There is a church to every seven square miles, and one for every 182 persons over 10 years of age. 58 of the 76 churches in the county are in the open country. Church buildings are in bad repair. There is only one resident minister in the whole county. "Residents may look to the community center for medical services, banking, trading, schooling, and recreation, but in religious affiliations their interests remain in the neighborhoods."

The consolidated school districts have little relation to the boundaries of the communities of which they form a part and so do not tend towards community integration. The Negroes seem to group around small neighborhood schools, particularly two vocational agricultural institutions.

Report of a Reconnaissance Survey of Neighborhoods and Communities of Caswell County, North Carolina, with Recommendations. By John B. Holt. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, August 1940. Pp. 8. **A-30**

Purpose: This survey of Caswell County was made in connection with the organization of the county for community land-use planning committees.

Caswell county is in the north-central part of North Carolina and has 9 communities with 40 neighborhoods.

Tanceyville is the central community of the county and the largest. Good roads, consolidated schools, and trade facilities attract many people to this center. There are seven distinct white neighborhoods and one Negro neighborhood. Three of these neighborhoods have a church as one of the strongest local influences binding the neighborhood together.

In the *Milton* community, the consolidated school and a common voting precinct are the forces that make the community, while in the *Leasburg* community, trade facilities and the town church in addition to the consolidated school and a common voting precinct are the strongest community activities. The other neighborhoods and communities follow somewhat the same pattern as these three areas.

The neighborhood rather than the community seemed to be the real source of activity among social groups. Lack of transportation, great distances, and lack of interest in general matters not immediately related to making a living, cause people in the neighborhoods to avoid meetings in community centers. The consolidated school, topography of the area, and paved road connections are stronger community links than are political boundaries.

The author urges the use as neighborhood centers of those abandoned schools resulting from consolidation and the development of leadership to help make life in this county more interesting and profitable.

- A-31** *Rural Neighborhoods and Communities of Lee County, Alabama.* By John B. Holt. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, February, 1941. Pp. 21.

Purpose: The report represents a brief survey of the white neighborhoods and communities of the rural population of Lee County, Alabama, in connection with the proposed land-use planning program.

Separate educational and religious institutions for the white and Negro population tend to form the basis of geographically segregated neighborhoods for the two groups. "The one institution which the Negroes and the whites share in common is the economic. In this institution the Negroes participate largely as tenants, croppers, wage hands, and house help, employed on the farms and in the homes of white owners and tenants or renters of higher economic status."

There are about thirty white neighborhoods in Lee County. About a quarter of these contain less than fifteen families each. The church is the strongest influence creating a consciousness of neighborhood. "Beat" lines, i.e., minor civil division lines, do not correspond consistently with neighborhood lines. The white neighborhoods are disappearing because of a loss of population, better transportation facilities, school consolidation, and similar factors. The rural church is losing out chiefly because of this decline in the white population in the county.

Nine communities are located in the county. The consolidated school appears to be the biggest factor in creating community spirit. The communities are not able to supplant the neighborhoods as the focal point of the rural life of the county because of poor roads, lack of transportation of the poorer farm families, distance, and the tendency of poorer families to refrain from participation in the larger community meetings. The strong communities of the county are characterized by a high proportion of resident white owners, a lower proportion of absentee owners, a higher proportion of white population to the total population, and more community participation in the various organizations of the area.

Up to the time of the survey, the people in control of farm operations in the county had found it more profitable to permit the natural resources of the land to dwindle, but the need for conservation and a higher standard of living is becoming more apparent. There is also some evidence of the formation of social classes based on economic status. 26 percent of the farm families own their farms, 42 percent are tenants, and 31 percent are sharecroppers.

Rural communities of Lee County:

Beauregard, containing one-fifth of the total county area, has the strongest community spirit. There is a comparatively high proportion of white farmers to Negro farmers. The consolidated school has drawn together in the last 15 years what were previously 12 rather well defined small farm neighborhoods.

In *Smith's Station*, the consolidated school and denominational inter-church meetings link the neighborhoods of the community.

Salem has a high percentage of tenants and a large Negro population. Some of the families have members working in textile mills some distance away.

Wacoochee, a declining community, has no real community or neighborhood organizations to keep it together.

Beaulah is a strong and well organized community with five active, church centered neighborhoods. The churches cooperate with each other. There is a consolidated school system.

Waverly has a common grade school as the only connecting force in the community. There is more neighborhood than community spirit.

Loachapoka has as its only community link a common high school. Each neighborhood has its own home demonstration club and other organizations.

Cotton Growing Communities, Study No. 1, Case Studies of 9 Rural Communities and 30 Plantations in Alabama. By Benson Y. Landis and George E. Haynes. New York: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Interracial Publications, Booklet No. 2, 1934. Pp. 43. **A-32**

Purpose: This booklet, based on the field work of Ernest A. Grant of the Tuskegee Institute, attempts to "throw light on the way men, women, and children lived in rural communities in Alabama engaged largely in cotton-culture during the year 1931."

The study was made at a time when cotton prices were going down. It deals primarily with Negroes. Macon, Madison, Greene, and Clarke Counties in Alabama were included in the survey.

The nine communities studied had an average population of 310 whites and 714 Negroes in 1931. About 43.5 percent of the farms operated by Negroes were run by their owners, 37.5 percent by tenants, and 19 percent by croppers. There was an increase in tenancy from 1920 to 1931. The success of individuals in holding their farms varied considerably. Credit arrangements for financing farming operations were inadequate and interest rates were high. The general income level was very low. Over 50 farmers out of 60 reporting showed net cash incomes of less than \$250. Less than 20 percent of the farmers had their equipment in good shape. Over 50 percent of the heads of families had less than four years of education. Of the 18 schools in the nine communities, five had a term of four months or less and only three had a seven to eight months term.

The nine communities were an average distance of 23½ miles from the nearest hospital. Nearly three-quarters of the families occupied houses of two or three rooms. Out of 807 families, almost half had open wells for their water supply and over a third of the families had an inadequate water supply system.

In these nine communities, eight had one or more fraternal orders for Negroes, eight had agricultural clubs, seven had educational or civic clubs, five had recreational clubs, and two had burial associations. There was an average of three Negro churches to a community. These had an average membership of about 115 persons in 1931 compared with approximately 130 in 1926. Seventy-four percent of the membership was female in 1931 as against 84 percent in 1926. Average expenditures per congregation were \$263 in 1926 and \$206 in 1931. Preaching services constituted the major part of the church program; the community programs of the churches were very meager. A third of the churches had one preaching service a month, while three of the remaining 18 churches had more than two services a month, with the other 15 meeting twice a month.

The principal recommendations of field workers for improving the communities were: (1) more and better general adult education, (2) better care and shelter of tools and equipment, (3) encouragement and opportunity to buy land, (4) cooperation for community betterment, economic and social, between organizations and between people and organizations, (5) lower interest rates, (6) better water supply.

Part two of the study consisted of a survey of plantations. "Any steps for improvement of Negro farm life and race relations in the cotton growing areas should take account of the fact that about three-fourths of the Negro farmers are tenants, most of whom are tilling land held by white landlords."

There was an increasing amount of crops raised for home consumption, in part due to the poor return from cotton. This allowed an increased opportunity for extension service to more Negro farmers. Of 114 Negro tenants, 110 had annual net incomes in 1931 of \$150 or less. Incomes in that year were considerably lower than in 1930 because of the low price of cotton. Of 52 croppers reporting their 1931 net incomes, only 4 made over \$100.

The housing situation for plantation Negroes, so far as number of rooms was concerned, seemed to be better than that for Negroes on unsupervised farms. Screening of houses on plantations differed little from that on unsupervised farms. Over two-thirds of the plantation homes had open wells or inadequate water supply systems.

Part three of the study dealt with experiments in land settlement. This section, based on information furnished by the agricultural extension service in Alabama, discussed in general terms three settlement projects to assist Negroes in owning land. These were Beloit in Dallas County, Baldwin farms in Macon County, and Calhoun in Lowndes County. The facts indicated that an important factor, if not the major factor, in the success of a project was the quality of supervision. Also, success in attaining ownership of a farm on a project depended on a low price for the land, good quality of land, purchase of a manageable acreage, good management by the farmer, good health, and good habits.

The conclusions of this section were that:

(1) Further study of experience in land settlement in the United States, particularly in the South, with emphasis on practical steps in the direction of systematic land settlement, should be made. Larger emphasis on subsistence farming in contrast with major interest in commercial production of cotton is needed.

(2) Organized efforts to start a setup where contracts are made in writing so that landlord and tenant will know exactly what arrangements have been agreed upon, would help. The agricultural extension service facilities should be used by the tenant.

(3) Agricultural colleges, white and colored, and other competent agencies including banks and mortgage companies, should make studies of the credit situation. Formation of credit associations might help solve some of the problems of inadequate credit facilities.

(4) There should be increasing cooperation between the church and the agricultural extension service. Further education of the Negro minister into the problems of rural community is advisable.

(5) "Greater attention to interracial cooperation is vitally important for rural communities" of the South.

Possum Trot, Rural Community, South. By Herman Clarence Nixon. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. Pp. 192. **A-33**

Purpose: Possum Trot is described as a small Southern community in Alabama that to the "author mirrors the progress and poverty, the problems and promises of the South; of the nation, of Democracy."

The first 64 pages of the book deal with personal reminiscences. The author discusses his family, his friends, and acquaintances. This part of the book indirectly shows the decline of the community due to the development of roads and other methods of communication and transportation; the decline of saw-mills and farms; the migration of its people. "... Possum Trot has people. People have been its biggest crop, also its biggest export crop. Families, farms, and woods have become rearranged in the last few decades in this neighborhood, as much so as people, stores, and factories have been shifted in New York or Chicago or Detroit."

The community has a greater number of farm tenants than it once had, although at the same time it renders less net return to absentee owners in terms of actual purchasing power. It has fewer non-farm enterprises than formerly. People go much further for work and for visiting. These greater contacts have been accompanied by changes in the ways and habits of the people of the community. There is less minor crime, better health conditions, more education, smaller sized families. "Material comforts for the mass have increased and so have feelings of insecurity."

Local leadership has declined. "The greatest losses to Possum Trot are institutional. Scott Spring, where the young people gathered, is no longer a social institution. Salem Church is no longer a social center." The post office, once a community gathering place, has been replaced by rural free delivery. The country store is still there but it is no longer a social institution. The old baseball teams are non-existent. "Community spirit and community identity have declined. It is hard to be loyal to a highway, a rural store, or a bus line. It is hard to be loyal to a consolidated school which is located somewhere else."

The community has disintegrated as tenancy and absentee ownership have hastened this process. The community has become closely tied up with the larger towns in the county and has lost its social aspects.

The economy of Possum Trot is just part of the larger economy of the bigger towns and areas. "The economic world has absorbed Possum Trot. The social world has largely passed Possum Trot by." The community is no longer isolated economically but it is "... an aggregation of individuals who are culturally more isolated than ever." There is some idleness, less real leisure; less interest in voting and politics; there is a ready made field for a demagogue, for the people feel exploited. The author poses the dilemma of Possum Trot as "Possum Trot could produce more milk and drink it. It could produce more food and eat it. It could provide more shelter and use it, it could provide more beauty and use it."

The needs of Possum Trot are:

- (a) More education
- (b) More attention to the land through more scientific knowledge and application

- (c) More cooperative effort and public aid
- (d) A community walk-in refrigerator and storehouse
- (e) A community cannery
- (f) A little community house and folk school where the potentialities of the area could be demonstrated
- (g) A community workshop to restore lost skills and to develop new abilities, resulting in better housing, less idleness, more beneficial leisure, and reduce the surplus of common labor
- (h) More houses and garden spots for town workers
- (i) Closer cultural, political, recreational and other ties to the larger towns to which it is already bound by economic ties
- (j) An inter-community council to link together Possum Trot and similar communities in the county ("It could stimulate the use, and check the waste of economic resources, of scenic resources, and human resources.")
- (k) Community building and community leadership

The author thinks of the problems of Possum Trot as being similar to the problems of the South. He rates the problems of poverty and insecurity of the population as one of the major questions that must be solved.

The South leads the nation in agricultural population. Farm income is low. The region has a high rate of social exhaustion and erosion. It leads in farm tenancy, and has a too high proportion of low-wage farm laborers and low-income farm tenants. Much of the best land is now controlled by corporations. The one-crop system has created idleness and waste.

"Roughly we have exported about five Negroes and five whites to the North in exchange for one Yankee. That is a poor rate of exchange in terms of the cost of production of human beings." People leave because "the South simply has too many farm families for its present agricultural economy." Our cotton economy is largely to blame. Large scale mechanized farming is the trend in the South. "Power farming tends to thin out the population on the most suitable cotton lands and force displaced farmers not only into towns but even into the rural hills." Besides mechanization, the development of substitutes for cotton is producing a revolution in Southern agriculture. Also cotton planting in other countries is affecting the South. Southern agriculture requires diversification including production of more foods for home consumption, dairying, hog and poultry raising, growing vegetables and fruits. The rural communities require more agricultural education, demonstrations in country schools, and vocational teachers. Diversification of agriculture depends on education, capital, government encouragement, and an expansion of consumption of agricultural products. The small farmer needs credit and suitable tracts of available land. Farm woods provide another source of income, but must be handled properly through proper methods of conservation and development. There are strong reasons for bracketing together the South's one-crop system, its one-party system, and its rural Democracy." Southern politics and religion has a rural flavor and reflects a rural psychology. It is anti-urban.

Alabama Rural Communities, a Study of Chilton County. By Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger. Montevallo: Alabama College, Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1a, July 1940. Published in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Pp. 80. A-34

Purpose: This study was made as a county-wide inventory of Chilton County to aid in the development of a sound county program in the future.

A total of 86 white neighborhoods, each a geographic area with a commonly used name, were located in Chilton County. These neighborhoods were found in six natural communities. The neighborhoods averaged 35 families, but varied considerably in area as "the soil determines to a marked degree the density of settlement in different parts of the county." 62 neighborhoods had churches, 37 had stores, 33 had schools, and 30 had grist mills, while no other services such as barber shops, cotton gins, etc., were available in more than three neighborhoods. The neighborhoods showed that common interests such as religion, kinship, and economic ties were the binding features giving the foundations for the neighborhoods. The rural neighborhoods had very few organizations, with about one-third having no organizations and over one-third with only one organization. Church and farm organizations were the most common.

There were 22 Negro neighborhoods in the county. The 15 open-country Negro neighborhoods differed in name and area from the white neighborhoods of the same locality, but in the larger population centers and their immediate vicinity the Negroes had the same place names for their neighborhoods as did the whites. The average Negro neighborhood had 19 families. Each neighborhood was held together by common interests, with the school and the church being the main influences.

The communities of the county include:

Clanton, a trade center of 4,000 whose rise was due to the opening of the rich farm land in the area when the lumber mills left. The Kiwanis Club has been a vital force in community leadership, being ranked second only to the church as an agency influencing public opinion in the community. Although Clanton has many organizations, the community still needs a library and a recreational center. Half the neighborhoods in the county are more closely attached to Clanton than to any other larger center, because Clanton is the county seat. Also farmers have gotten into the habit of going to Clanton when they have any reason to leave the farm. Also there have been organized efforts to link the farm population to the town through meetings and other activities designed to secure trade. "The attachment of the outlying neighborhoods to Clanton is largely economic and educational. The people from outside the town of Clanton mix little in its social, organizational, or church life. . . . The dominant tradition underlying the social organization of the Clanton community is 'if it's good for business it's good for Clanton.'"

Jemison is a community held together by the interests of the farmers. The village is very conservative in attempting to improve trade or to develop the community. Social control is still very rigid. There are few organizations with the consolidated school being the most important organization in the community, particularly because of vocational home economics and vocational agri-

culture courses. Because of the attitude of the townspeople to the farmers, there exists a warmer understanding between the two groups than in any other community in the county. The community has 14 white neighborhoods and 4 Negro neighborhoods.

In *Maplesville*, individualism rather than community service is traditional, and there is much internal dissention. This community of 1,700 has eight white and three Negro neighborhoods, with the village center having 400 people. Three of the white neighborhoods are artificially split by county lines. The school is used less to help develop a better community and more to educate the pupils. The open country neighborhoods are related to the village center because of the school and its being the nearest trade area.

Thorsby is called a church and school town. Five percent of the population are descended from Scandinavian stock. One of the finest cooperatives was started here. There are many community organizations. The churches have joint meetings as well as other cooperative activities. The school system is excellent, the businesses are well kept and prosperous. There are some signs of division for some of the farmers with trucks and automobiles are tending to do their trading in Birmingham rather than in the local community. "The people outside of Thorsby . . . feel little need for the social life provided by the village. Their church groups hold them together and restrict their loyalties to their respective neighborhoods. This means that the chief ties existing between the village center and the neighborhoods are economic in nature."

Verbena is the community that most nearly approaches the traditions and ways of the Old South. Many of the landowners have large farms. Their social life is in part connected with that of Montgomery, Alabama. Ownership of property is rather stable. The village is the natural center for five open-country white neighborhoods for trade, education, medical care, and mail.

Businessmen are usually community leaders in this county with teachers coming next. In only one community were ministers listed as leaders. Most of the leaders are home owners, and, in all communities but one, over half the leaders had attended college.

"The village centers differed markedly in dominant traditions. These are reflected in most cases in the farm-village relationships as well as in the qualities valued in leaders." The Parent-Teacher's Association was one organization that was supported by village and open-country people although it was usually controlled by village people. Most neighborhoods used certain villages because of trade, conveniences, schools, and the availability of physicians more than for any other reasons. The church is the focal point of social organization in Chilton County, but the church becomes less important as the size of the locality increases. Schools came next in importance.

The population of the county increased only 8 percent between 1910 and 1930, whereas if there had been no migration the population would have increased 20 percent. There was a 17 percent decline in the percentage of Negroes between 1920 and 1930. An interesting feature of the county is that it usually votes the Republican ticket. Its agriculture is diversified.

A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama. By Karl Shafer. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, Social Research Report No. VI, December 1937. Pp. 48. **A-35**

Purpose: The report gives the background of historical, social, and economic forces molding the county as a basis for social planning.

The history of Coffee County has been agricultural—first forestry, then cattle and sheep raising until 1880. The turpentine industry, followed by cotton until the late twenties, provided the predominating agricultural pattern from 1880. After the first World War, peanuts became the main crop. During the twenties, the county had its most prosperous period. The depression naturally affected Coffee County so that by 1935 the Rural Rehabilitation Corporation of Alabama had taken over some 60,000 acres of scattered farm land on which mortgage holders had foreclosed.

Population Characteristics:

During the period 1880-1930, Coffee County had a higher proportional increase in population than did the State of Alabama. Although the county has continued to increase in actual numbers, since 1900 the rate of increase has slowed down.

A study of five subregions of the county based on rates of population change, indicates that: "A close relationship exists between poor land and little population growth and between good land and considerable population growth. While the greater increases in population during the last 40 years have taken place in the best parts of the county, the successive declines in the different areas correspond rather closely with the order of their value as agricultural units."

The open-country population is remaining stationary, while the village and urban population of the county increases. The author predicts that, unless the agricultural areas can support an increasing population, in time the villages and towns of the county will have a stationary or declining population, since the latter are dependent on the farming population for their commerce.

Coffee County has a growing proportion of Negroes in its population. The birth and death rates of whites and Negroes are lower in this county than in the rest of the State. The rates of natural increase are declining. Population emigration has created a scarcity of men in the 20-45 age group, a disproportionate number of whom live in the urban areas of the county. Also there is an increasing proportion of people over 45, many of whom live in urban communities.

Social Forces and the Land

In a study of inferior and superior land areas of the county, the author found that more than 50 percent of the white farmers of the county were on the superior lands. The parents of school children living on the best lands were literate, but there was about as much retardation of school children as in the poorest areas, although this factor was more apparent for children of farm tenants and laborers.

The heads of families are older in the poor areas, and have more dependents. Owners have smaller farms; tenants and wives cultivate a smaller part of their total acreage than the farmers of the better land.

Social Organizations

The county has 118 churches, 86 for white and 32 for Negroes. Thirteen are in the urban areas and the remainder in the open-country or smaller communities. Recently there has been a considerable development of newer denominations like the Holiness Church and the Pentecostal Church. Only a small proportion of the population goes to church. The average congregation has about 60 persons to a service, with some having as few as 20. It appears that about one-fifth of the rural white population goes to church regularly. Attendance has declined in the 5 years prior to 1936. It is claimed that in addition to the effect of a decreasing population and the attraction of the urban church, the rural churches of Coffee County are declining. Because of the increase in farm tenancy, the churches reporting the greatest losses in attendance were located in areas having a high rate of tenancy. Important factors affecting the decline of the country church are a falling or stationary population, increased transportation facilities, competing institutions.

The schools of the county vary somewhat with the quality of land areas. Coffee County has 17 singing societies. The average attendance at a singing society meeting (which is usually monthly) is 200 persons. "The singing society continues to evoke more enthusiasm among its participants than does any other agency in the county." "The social institutions of Coffee County have been essentially of a neighborhood type." This is particularly true of the poorer land areas. The school is the major public institution of Coffee County.

"The declining population and the competition of the more strategically placed economic centers have broken down the small localities. But broadly speaking, the larger urban centers are meeting only certain economic needs of the county. The social institutions have not reached all of the rural people, consequently, it is advisable that some of the smaller localities in which these social needs are satisfied should be preserved. Some localities are situated very favorably to act as centers for a variety of social services and activities. These centers would be at once smaller and socially more satisfying than the larger economic ones. Moreover, they can be selected readily because of their strategic position with respect both to the distribution of population and to natural advantages."

A-36 "Elm City, A Negro Community in Action." By C. L. Spellman. *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 10, June 1945. Pp. 174-187.

Purpose: This article describes a Negro community and its needs.

Elm City is located in the northeast corner of Wilson County, North Carolina, and was started before 1880. The community is made up of the village and five surrounding neighborhoods, each held together by a very small school. The Negro consolidated high school, several businesses, and two Negro churches in the village center focalize the interests of Negroes in a twenty-five square mile radius. The population of Elm City is over 48 percent Negro, and this article deals with Negro community life.

The generally high rate of tenancy predisposes the Negroes to a high rate of mobility, much of it within the community itself. Tobacco is the main cash crop and cotton comes next. The soil is becoming depleted.

There is only one trained minister in the Negro community. Youth leadership is lacking while the older church members control the ministers and church policies. The educational system consists of four two-teacher schools and a single one-teacher school in the outlying neighborhoods in addition to the consolidated high school. There is no assembly place where any large group or organization can meet. The community health is good but there are no Negro doctors, dentists, or registered nurses. The Negro county agent and the consolidated school provide the real focal points of the community.

Community needs include a building or auditorium for large group activities, resident religious leadership and an adequate program for all churches, better physical facilities in the high school as well as an adequate health and recreational program, resident local leadership to cut down on delinquency, and an all encompassing community development program.

There is no evident friction between the village and open country people. There are not enough community organizations, although the few organizations that are available are doing a good job in their specific field of operation. There are enough community leaders numerically but more quality of leadership is required. The real community activities are too concentrated in the work of the extension service.

They Live on the Land. Life in an Open-Country Southern Community. By Paul W. Terry and Verner M. Sims. University: University of Alabama, Bureau of Educational Research, Studies in Education No. 1, 1940. Pp. 313. **A-37**

Purpose: The study gives a picture of a southern rural community by furnishing information on its people and their institutions along with their attitudes and the processes which are geared to the fact that practically everyone in the community lives off the land.

Upland Bend, Alabama, is over a hundred years old. It was settled by people from northern Georgia, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. The community contained over two hundred families within its twenty-one square miles and averaged about five persons to a family. The ratio of whites to Negroes was more than five to one. Of the total number of heads of households in the community, 37 percent of the farmers were owners and 57 percent were tenants and sharecroppers. Over half the population was under twenty years of age and the percentage of the population in the most productive years, 20-44, was less than the average for the South. The population of Upland Bend is very stable, although there is a noticeable tendency for some of the younger generation to leave the community. These migrants come mostly from the highest and the lowest income groups. These facts indicate that the economic productivity of Upland Bend is limited.

The average farm has 142 acres. Six out of every ten farm owners had their land mortgaged. Cash income was low, averaging \$367 per family, with cotton providing the chief source of this income. Fifteen percent of the householders had other work besides farming. The industrial life of the community was concentrated in two cotton gins, two small sawmills, and a grist mill.

Almost all buying was done locally. Credit was widely used as was a system of barter. There were nine general stores in the community and its environs which secured most of the trade of the area. All of the farmers had some kind

of garden, so that there was much canning of fruits and vegetables as well as the curing of meats. Much of the clothing was made at home. Quilting was the favorite leisure time activity of the older women.

The average adult in this community did not finish the sixth grade. While more than half of the farm owners' children, who might have graduated, did graduate from high school, less than one-tenth of the children of tenant farmers did so. Only 37 percent of those eligible among the white voters exercised their franchise and none of the Negroes did. Most of the voters were landowners or tenants related to them. The poll tax helped to limit the number of voters. However, the political rally provided one of the events that could attract large crowds in the community, in spite of voting limitations.

Only seven white men out of a total population of over one thousand had been arrested and tried for any crime during a period of two years. The need for any elaborate system of law enforcement officials was obviously not felt.

Five percent of the community were seriously ill all the time or permanently crippled, while a quarter of the school children were under weight and one-half had observable physical defects which were serious, thus showing that the community had a real health problem. There was only one doctor in Upland Bend but two others were available from nearby areas. The nearest hospital was 25 miles away at the county seat. There was no organized nursing service in the locality, and the county health department did not have any real regular service in the community.

"The first institution which the early settlers of Upland Bend felt they needed, when their homes had been raised, was the church." In 1940, there were six white churches and one Negro church. Three-fourths of the heads of households were members of local churches. Nearly all were Baptists or Methodists. Control of the church was by the owning class. The average salary of the minister was \$135 a year. Services were held either one or two Sundays a month. The Sunday school and the young people's societies were important in church activities as were community singings. The ministers of the community agreed that the churches in Upland Bend were handicapped by petty jealousy and rivalry between denominations, too many churches, and lack of trained leadership. They believed that church consolidation was advisable but unlikely because of denominational prejudice. In Upland Bend, the Church of God's Children, with 37 members, had more frequent services than any other church. The one Negro church in the community had 87 percent of the heads of Negro households as members and 93 percent of the women.

The school is replacing the church as the dominant community force in Upland Bend. Although the consolidated school buildings were the most imposing structures in the community, they were not adequately constructed or equipped. The staff of 11 schools averaged between \$60 to \$90 a month for the school term of seven months or less. Although the amount spent per child for education was too low, it was actually more than the community could afford without a subsidy from the State. The curriculum was not fully adapted to the needs of the community, as agricultural subjects were not taught until high school, while a high percentage of children did not reach high school in this agricultural area. Adult education included an evening class in agriculture for men and one in home economics for women as well as a home demonstration club for women. The Negroes had a one-room, one-teacher schoolhouse

for its 69 pupils. Attendance was very irregular and pupils were instructed only to the eighth grade.

The average man and woman in Upland Bend worked 11 and 11½ hours a day during week days, except Saturday. Visiting was an outstanding social activity. Occasional parties and suppers, hunting, dancing, fishing, and "loafing" in the stores were other recreational activities of the people.

In securing the attitudes of the people of Upland Bend, the authors found that the people believed the community needed such material improvements as better roads and buildings. They thought children were not sufficiently disciplined at home. They wanted new churches, better schools, electricity, telephones, a water and sewerage system, and better roads. More than half of those interviewed, particularly the women and tenants, were opposed to consolidation of churches. Many of those favoring consolidation did not believe it practical in the community. The people as a whole were very favorable towards the New Deal.

"In spite of a certain degree of isolation the people of Upland Bend had developed many of the viewpoints which are commonly accepted among our people. Their loyalty to the country was unquestioned, their own community too, was a good place in which to live. They accepted the church as a divine institution, felt that there are too many laws, that the children had changed from those of yesterday, and that the Roosevelt administration was the greatest in history. Rapid social change in the church, in the government, or in other institutions, they did not consider desirable. Progress was to be measured in terms of material improvements."

The leaders of the community were landowners and among the wealthiest men in Upland Bend. They exhibited more tolerance than did most of the community. Most of the leadership had been exerted to improve education in the community. All the leaders agreed that something had to be done to improve economic conditions in Upland Bend, particularly by giving part-time employment to small farmers and by helping people get out of debt. Church leadership was in the hands of women and lesser community leaders, while the principal leaders in the community appeared to be more interested in secular affairs.

One Foot on the Soil, A Study of Subsistence Homesteads in Alabama. By Paul W. Wager. University: University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1945. Pp. 230. **A-38**

Purpose: The volume is an analysis of federal subsistence homestead projects in Alabama in an effort to determine the possibilities and limitations of subsistence homesteads.

These homestead projects were a development of the depression years. They were organized with federal funds, and their operations were decentralized at first but later were centralized under the direction of various federal agencies with the Federal Public Housing Authority being in control at the time of the study in 1944.

In 1934, five sites were selected in Jefferson and Walker Counties, Alabama, near the city of Birmingham, for the development of subsistence homesteads. This area was chosen as the main experiment in such projects in the United

States. One of these projects could not be considered a real subsistence homestead community. Since the opening of the Jefferson County projects, 697 families were admitted as occupants. 358 were in residence on May 31, 1944, while 339 had come and gone. The younger groups left more frequently than did the older families. Factors such as a rise in earning power, credit records, relief history, amount of education, experience in agriculture, size of family, age of children had little to do with the success or failure of a family on a homestead plot. No clear cut criteria of selection for the homesteads have been developed although low income families not owning a home and lacking other substantial assets, and characterized as being honest, stable, healthy, and with gardening and community interests, were wanted.

About 45 percent of the original homesteader families were still there in 1944. The turnover was lessening and the inhabitants at that time appeared to be more stable. Financial difficulties, general dissatisfaction, high transportation costs to get to work, poor location with reference to work, all provided some of the principal reasons given for leaving the projects.

Although many of the original homesteaders had no funds, those who came later were better off financially. Since 1941, almost all applicants for homesteads as well as the residents had steady jobs. The people have learned how to live better, and particularly they have improved their diets. None of the homestead projects had community centers, but on the whole there was a very wholesome community consciousness. The residents feel that they are in a better position to withstand a depression than they were when they arrived. The homestead plan gave a sense of security.

During the war, men were not able to cultivate all their land, since they had to work long hours in industrial plants or in other work. For a homestead project to be successful, the people living there must have enough time to cultivate the land. Nevertheless, many families were producing a substantial part of their food on their own homesteads.

The community cooperative stores have not been very successful and a small hosiery mill in one of the projects has not done well. Stiff and sometimes unfair competition from private stores, a lack of understanding as to how to operate a cooperative, too grandiose plans, lack of precedents, and too much outside direction have slowed the effective operations of the cooperatives.

The homestead communities have excellent schools and roads, all constructed by the federal government. Most of the communities have not developed local leaders but neighborliness is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of these communities.

The communities generally had the services of a home economist, a cooperative marketing specialist, and a vocational agriculture specialist. Even with all these services, the projects were not entirely successful. Some families could not make the proper adjustments and failed to use their land properly. There was a tendency to depend on hired Negro labor to do the hard work, although the homesteader was supposed to operate everything himself. In addition to a weak sense of community consciousness and community responsibility, there was the unsuccessful experience in cooperative endeavors.

The projects have demonstrated a noticeable spirit of neighborliness, much informal cooperation, good will between the homesteaders and the native population, neat and well kept homes and grounds, and the financial position of the

homesteaders has improved. These projects showed that homesteads must not be too remote from the centers of employment; that they are more valuable as shock absorbers in times of partial employment, rather than as a source of supplementary income in periods of full employment; that a five-day work week would allow a day to take care of the land on the homesteads; that the garden type of community is better than the part-time farming type; and that the homestead community should be an adjunct to an older community rather than a new community, so that more community services will be available.

The Pattern of Village Life: A Study of Southern Piedmont Villages in Terms of Population, Structure, and Role. By Vincent Heath Whitney. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1944. Pp. 350. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) **A-39**

Purpose: The study deals with the number, kind, size, and distribution of villages and hamlets within a ten county area in North-central North Carolina and the structure of these villages together with the significant likenesses and differences in functions and services between the various types and sizes of villages.

The first two chapters of the thesis give a generalized picture of the place of the village in rural society. The author used the census definition of a village so far as a determination of the upper limits of population was concerned. A hamlet had 25 to 250 inhabitants, while a village had between 250 and 2,499. A hamlet also had to have a minimum of two services, such as a church, school, or store. The study concerned itself with 126 villages and hamlets in the ten counties surveyed.

The population trends for these ten counties were the same as for the Southeast—with incorporated places between 1,000 and 2,499 having some increase, while incorporated places of less than 1,000 showed a decrease. Forty percent of the rural non-farm population in the ten counties were living in villages and hamlets. This rural non-farm group constituted about one-fourth of the total population of the ten counties. Of the residents of villages and hamlets, over fifty percent were in agricultural communities, over a third in industrial communities, and the remainder in rural suburban places.

All of the villages, all of the suburban hamlets, seventy percent of the agricultural hamlets, and forty percent of the industrial hamlets were on paved roads. Bus service provided the most usual type of public transportation, and telephone service was frequently available. Industrial hamlets had the greatest lack of all kinds of services. There were 31 newspapers published in the area, 7 of which were weeklies issued in agricultural village communities. Incorporation of the community was less frequent among industrial villages and hamlets than among the agricultural centers, due chiefly to the domination of the community by the local manufacturing plant or plants. Practically all villages and most of the larger hamlets had post offices. In only four of the counties were rural villages serving as county seats. Police and fire services, in general, were inadequate. Four-fifths of the large agricultural villages and half of the small suburban villages had libraries, either public or private; no hamlets or industrial villages had a library. All the libraries were small and inadequate, but the book-mobile system is making up part of this deficiency. Every village and hamlet

had electricity as a result of the rural electrification program. One of the chief limitations on the rural centers in these ten counties is the lack of efficient water supply systems.

Except for agricultural villages, each community averaged less than one doctor, dentist, or lawyer. There were more ministers than any other professional occupation represented in these localities. The population of the industrial and suburban communities were usually near enough to large cities and towns to secure adequate medical care. The agricultural communities having doctors were able to support them through the patronage of people living outside the village.

For all sizes and types of rural communities, the number of Negro churches was below the number of white churches and below the population ratio of three whites to every Negro. There was generally a high proportion of churches to the total population in almost all the rural communities in the ten counties. In general, the number of ministers was less than the number of churches. Most of the agricultural villages had a consolidated grammar and high school which in practically every instance were located in the same school building. Industrial and suburban places were far less adequately equipped for educational facilities as compared to the agricultural communities; the latter also had more recreational facilities. The more common recreational facilities included baseball diamonds, school playgrounds, tennis courts, community centers, taverns, pool rooms, bowling alleys, motion picture theatres, and dance halls. The agricultural villages also had more organizations and associations such as clubs, lodges, etc., than did the industrial and suburban rural community.

Except for small suburban villages, communities reporting an increase in business during the period 1935-1940 had also an increase in population. Many places reported business as stationary during this period. "The percentage of stores in agricultural centers doing business primarily on a cash basis is considerably higher than in the comparable industrial and suburban centers. . . . Only a very small percentage of the stores in the small agricultural hamlets and villages carry on the majority of their business with residents of their own community while most of the industrial and suburban centers have the majority of their trade from the community itself."

In his conclusions, the author points out the high proportion of farmers living in agricultural hamlets—making these hamlets homes of farmers and not merely service centers for farmers. As each agricultural community became larger, it secured more stores and more specialized ones. In a classification of the communities studied by complete and incomplete centers (a complete center including one grocery store, one general store, one drug store and one other store; a post office; telephone and electricity; railroad or bus service; a church; a high school; one doctor; some fire protection; one organization for every three hundred inhabitants; and one recreational facility including a library), the author states that of the 126 communities studied, only 1 small agricultural village and 7 large ones met the minimum standards to be considered a complete center based on the accepted criteria.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, Harmony, Georgia. By Waller Wynne. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 6, January 1943. Pp. 58. **A-40**

Purpose: This study deals with the forces and institutions shaping the culture of a rural community in Georgia and is one of a series on various rural communities in the United States.

Harmony, Georgia, is located in Putnam County which is part of the Old Plantation Piedmont Cotton Belt. The community had about seventy families at the time of the study, with twenty white families and fifty Negro. From the geographical center of the community, where the white and Negro schools and churches are located, families live within a radius of about five miles. Residences of white families were about one mile apart, while the Negro families usually had their homes near the white families.

Most of the people living in the county were born there. Population trends for the county were:

	1860	1890	1920	1930	1940
Total population	10,000	14,900	15,100	8,400	8,514
Percent of white population	29	26	31	38	40
Percent of Negro population	71	74	69	62	60

The boll weevil caused the great drop in population between 1920 and 1930. Within the county itself there has been some shifting of population, with the rural areas losing and the only urban community in the county showing some gains. The Agricultural Adjustment programs and other farm policies of the federal government have in part caused this decline because of the limitations on the use of certain land areas.

The most noticeable change in the age characteristics of the rural farm population of the county between 1930 and 1940 was in the age group 10 to 19 years. This age group represented 28 percent of the population in 1930 and only 23 percent in the 1940 population. There was considerable change in the population characteristics of the Harmony community. Forty percent of the white population of the community in 1930 was under 15 years of age, while in 1940 only twenty percent was in this age category. In 1940, white persons 45 years of age and over comprised two-fifths of the white population, whereas they had comprised only one-fourth of the population in 1930. Among the white families there are only a few young people and there were not more than five single persons between the ages of 16 and 30 years. In contrast with this situation, among the Negro families there were many young people.

The topography of Putnam County is rolling to hilly and once was covered by dense forests of which only a very small part of the original growth stands today. Its hardwood lumber is gone but considerable loblolly and short-leaf pine remains. There is a long growing season and ample rainfall. Nearly eighty percent of the fertile land once existent in the county is now severely eroded and unproductive, and much of this is submarginal for arable farming. The remaining twenty percent of land is only fair. This condition is due to a century of cotton production under a wasteful system of land-use practices, poor methods of plowing and cultivating the land, lack of cover crops, and no crop rotation.

The coming of the boll weevil forced a drastic modification in the land-use patterns of the community, for the boll weevil was responsible for the planting of only 6,000 acres of cotton in 1924 as against 42,000 acres in 1919. Dairying became more important for farm owners. Tenants were still dependent almost entirely upon cotton for their cash income. The shift to dairying has increased the acreage in pasture land and also increased the acreage of feed crops. The new farm economy of the county should help rebuild the fertility of the soil.

Between 1873 and 1902, the trend was towards an increase in the number of owners of farms. This trend has been reversed since then. The average farm was 240 acres in 1939 as against 358 acres in 1902. Land ownership is concentrated among the white families, with Negroes owning only about five percent of the land. Over a fifth of the land was controlled by absentee owners, not counting federal or power corporation holdings. The number of absentee owners exceeded the number of owners living on and actually operating the land they own. There were fewer farmers in the county in 1940 than in any census in the previous 60 years. Most of the farm operators were Negro. Tenant farmers have been a majority group in the county since the Civil War and a majority of the county's tenants were Negroes.

Mules were the chief source of power of a majority of farms in the county but tractor farming was becoming more important. "Among operators in the Harmony community an attempt toward self-sufficiency in farming is limited almost entirely to growing and preserving food for home use."

The community has lost some half of its population since the coming of the boll weevil in the early twenties. The only remaining institutions for Negroes were a church, a Masonic Lodge, and an all-grade school, while the community institutions for the white populace consisted of a church and an elementary school. This school had difficulty operating because of the small number of white children in the community. Family ties were strong within the area and the typical Harmony family was a highly cooperative unit in operating the farm. All of the trade services must come from the county seat eight miles distant or from the larger towns 50 miles away. Though dependent on the county seat for certain services, the Harmony community did not identify itself with the county seat.

"Among white residents, Harmony Baptist Church is by far the most important institution in the community next to the family and most families are members of it." Services were held one Sunday each month and revival services once a year. The pastor was non-resident and untrained. The church had three organizations, a Sunday school, a young people's union, and a woman's missionary union. Most members agreed that the influence of the church had declined. The Jefferson Baptist Church was in the forefront among the institutions for Negroes in the community. Preaching services were held once a month, prayer meetings every Saturday, and Sunday school once a week. Members were required to attend services regularly but their interest had waned.

The white school had declined from a four-teacher to a one-teacher school, and in 1939 there were only 11 pupils. However, the community believed in maintaining the school rather than consolidating with other schools. There were no farm organizations in the community and only one in the county. There was a county dairy cooperative to which all dairy farmers in the community belonged.

"Informal cooperation is not now, and never has been, a characteristic of either owners or tenants, whites or Negroes. Exchanging labor, farm tools, and machinery is the exception rather than the rule." There was a decrease in the frequency of visiting. Most of the residents agreed that the automobile had been the principal reason for less visiting.

"Class structure in the Harmony community, as in other farm communities of the county and of the South generally, has two bases: the one is racial, the other is farm ownership." There was no real leadership in the community among either whites or Negroes. The automobile, the radio, newspapers, and commercialized agriculture have broken down the geographic isolation of the community.

In a study of the attitudes of the people of the area, both whites and Negroes preferred rural to urban life. The folkways of the community were strong, particularly in bi-racial relationships. The white people realized that their community was declining but they were unwilling to cooperate to develop community institutions and other activities that would improve their area. The Negroes naturally followed white leadership. In 1939, the farmers of Harmony community in general approved soil conservation programs and disapproved of W.P.A. and direct relief programs. The programs of the Farm Credit Administration and of the Farm Security Administration were not widely used. Rural electrification and the Civilian Conservation Corps were approved.

Problems of the Small Town in North Carolina. By Ina V. Young, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1931. Pp. 165. (Unpublished master's thesis) **A-41**

Purpose: This is a study of the problems of the North Carolina community or village of less than 2,500 population in such matters as health, education, and related matters.

The 1920 census listed 413 incorporated places of less than 2,500 population in North Carolina, while the many unincorporated areas were not shown. This study included 64 small towns in the State.

While the urban death rate is still higher than the rural rate, it has been declining more in proportion since 1900 than has the rural rate. Reasons for this greater urban improvement can be found from such facts as are given below. Half of the small towns included in the survey were located in counties which did not have organized county health departments as of 1928. None of these towns had any milk inspection ordinances in 1926 but this situation had been improved by 1931. In 1925, there was one doctor for every 1,100 people in the State, with the city physician serving an average of 500 people and the small town doctor serving 1,300. "As to hospital services (in 1925), the small towns scarcely know of their existence, only seven of the 122 general hospitals of the state being located in their midst." In spite of this situation, according to mortality statistics, the infant mortality rate is lowest in the rural town, a larger proportion of the population live to reach old age, and the health situation of the small town is comparatively good, although it could be improved. Only 8 of the towns studied did not have a public water supply system and 12 did not have a municipal sewerage system in 1926.

A study of educational efficiency of the state in 1927 was made to compare the city, small town, and the State. Educational efficiency was based on academic and financial factors. The indexes of academic factors were percentage of enrollment in average daily attendance, average length of terms in days, scholarship of teachers, percentages of total school enrollment in high school, and percentage of normal and under-age enrollment for various grades. The financial indexes included the average annual salary of teachers, per capita cost of instruction based upon enrollment, total per capita cost of current expense based upon enrollment, total current expense per teacher, and principal and valuation of school property per child enrolled. Based on these indexes, and with 100 representing the required standard, the following figures were secured:

	Academic Index	Financial Index	General Efficiency
City	87.2	91.2	89.7
Small Town	83.1	67.3	75.3
State	68.8	55.9	62.4

LOWER ATLANTIC COASTAL PLAINS:

Black Yeomanry, Life on St. Helena Island. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930. Pp. 291.

A-42 Purpose: An historical and cultural study of an isolated Negro community.

This book is a study of the Negro community of St. Helena Island, one of a group of islands along the coast of South Carolina. In addition to a study of the community, a history of the area, data on island folklore and folk songs, and information on population migration to cities are included.

St. Helena Township, which includes three other islands besides St. Helena Island, has always been predominantly Negro. In 1920, there were over 5,000 Negroes to 100 whites. Since 1900 the population has decreased. The birth rate is still high, but it is declining and there is much migration. Migration has caused an unbalanced sex and age distribution in the population, with the elders and the women forming a disproportionate number of those left behind. The general death rate of the Negroes on the Island compares favorably with other rural areas and is markedly better than in the cities. Thirty percent of the births are illegitimate.

This old plantation area was divided among the Negro slaves after the Civil War and the Negroes are all landowners. Phosphate mining and work on a drydock were formerly the chief sources of non-agricultural employment, but both of these enterprises were stopped. There are two types of communities in the township; one where isolation from other sections throws the people back largely on farming, and the other where farming is supplemented by day labor on neighboring large truck farms, in the oyster canneries, or at the Parris Island Marine Base.

The boll weevil changed St. Helena and the other Sea Islands from areas in which farming predominated to communities where it is now secondary. In 1930, the shift was from farming to fishing, employment in oyster canneries, or work on public roads and elsewhere. About 85 families emphasized farming but much of their income came from outside wages. Fifty percent of the families did enough farming to almost feed themselves and get about \$50 to \$100

annual cash income from the farms, but their outside earnings were slightly more than the proceeds from the cultivation of the soil. Thirty-seven percent of the families secured most of their money from work in the oyster canneries or from nearby truck farms. The average income of an Islander was \$420, of which \$275 was in money and \$145 in produce. Although their money income was low, the people lived satisfactorily though simply.

More acreage is given to corn than cotton. Crops are fairly diversified and more farm animals such as cows, pigs, and chickens are kept than by the average Negro farm tenant in the Black Belt. However, better farming methods are needed.

Taxes are too high for the amount of government services secured. Few own automobiles and the road system is primitive. The island is isolated and poor and does not share in all county benefits. Beaufort county imposed more taxes for highways than it did for schools, and as a result St. Helena Island suffers, since her road system is poor and her public educational facilities inadequate. Also the method of taxing for education works against the Island. However, the facilities for learning are far superior to other Negro rural districts of the South because of the Penn School and a Rosenwald School. The Penn Normal Industrial and Agricultural School is the oldest Negro school in the South, being founded in 1862. It is supported by private funds. In addition to its regular teaching staff, there is a farm demonstration agent and a nurse on the staff. The activities of the school are blended into many aspects of community life. Agricultural, vocational, and homemaking training are emphasized. The school has well equipped shops, a five-room house for home demonstration classes, and a farm of 276 acres. A community house of the school serves as the social center of St. Helena. The educational budget of the Penn School was \$44,000 a year and its other community activities cost \$30,000 annually.

Recreation is provided by dancing and singing, the prayer-meeting service, fishing, hunting, picnics, excursions, and patronage of the library at the community house.

Religion is important and almost all the principal ceremonies of the Island have some religious aspects. There were six Baptist churches on the Island or one for every 600 people on an average. One church had over a thousand members. Crime rates are low, with the church exercising a sort of extra-legal system of justice in the area.

"The achievement of St. Helena has been an orderly community, a healthy community, one which is fairly stable, but in which breadwinning is difficult."

SOUTHERN FLORIDA:

Slavia, A Culture Pocket in Florida. By Harrison Jean Laney. Gainesville: University of Florida, July 1937. Pp. 101. (Unpublished master's thesis) **A-43**

Purpose: In addition to general information about the Slovaks, this study describes the development of Slavia, a Slovak colony in Florida, compares this area with another Slovak colony in the State, and attempts to show the contributions of the colony to solving the problems of an important group in the United States.

In 1911, a group of Slovaks in Cleveland, Ohio, decided they wanted to develop a rural community of their own. A 1,200 acre tract of land in Seminole

County, located in the citrus section of central Florida, was selected. After a difficult struggle, the village developed. One of the first buildings erected was a Lutheran church. Services were conducted by members until 1934 when a resident minister was secured.

Celery was introduced as a money crop in 1913, but was not really developed until after 1926. An extensive drainage system had to be constructed in connection with the development of the crop and the expense of this project almost bankrupted the community. All of the people worked on the land, but with prosperity children continued in public school for longer terms and there was a decrease in the amount of farm work done by women and children.

The group became more Americanized and tied into joint county affairs with the rest of the population. None was on relief; none had criminal records. The colony was successful because the adoption of the proper type of crop resulted in economic security, there was effective leadership to guide the colony's economic life and to help create an active community spirit. There was a close bond between the colonists and their church which gave additional unity of purpose to their operations. The church aided in the growth of a sense of unity in the group, served as a support in times of trouble, and provided needed contact with other Slovaks in America by means of church sponsored organizations. The character of the people emphasized a strong desire for economic security, thrift, honesty and dependability, and a high sense of decency and morality.

Another Slovak colony in Florida was Masarktown in North Hernando County. It was organized in 1925 to provide employment and a means of investment for Slovaks over 40 years old. It was created in a year of unsettled values, unstable market conditions, and general economic unrest. The colony concentrated its efforts on an orange grove which proved unsuccessful since the location was not best suited for this purpose. There was a decline in population from the original 47 families. Poorer leadership, religious differences, and a bad selection of crops made this community less effective and less unified than Slavia.

NORTH-SOUTH BORDER:

A-44 *Rural Organization Contacts in Three Kentucky Communities.* By Fred Boyd, Merton Oyler and W. D. Nicholls. Lexington: University of Kentucky, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 350, April 1934. Pp. 26.

Purpose: The chief object of this study was to determine the kind and number of organization contacts that people in rural communities experience. The study was limited to formal organizational contacts and excluded attendance at informal affairs.

The three communities surveyed are:

Parkersville, a community eight miles from the county seat of Boyle County. The chief farm products of the area are raspberries, butterfat, apples, tobacco, corn, and poultry products. Public employment on the railroad, highway projects and in tobacco warehouses supplements farm income for many families. There is a very high percentage of home ownership although the value of the homes is low. One of the great needs of the community at the time of the survey was new sources of employment.

Athens, a village only ten miles from Lexington, secures from that city some services which ordinarily would be found in a rural village. Tobacco is the chief crop with dairying, sheep-raising, corn, and general farming providing supplementary income. "Of the three communities, Athens has the most fertile soil, the largest farms, the wealthiest landowners, and the highest percentage of tenants. The achievements of the Athens community revolve around some unusual instances of local leadership. These have found expression in their consolidated high school and in two organizations—a parent-teacher association and homemaker's club."

Hebron is a rural community 13 miles west of Covington, Kentucky. Whole milk production is the principal agricultural industry of the community with sheep and poultry raising, fruit growing, truck gardening, and the cultivation of tobacco providing other sources of income. Although the community is agricultural, it has a growing class of commuters who work in the city. There is a high percentage of home ownership.

For the three communities, almost 91 percent of all interpersonal contacts occurred at religious meetings. (School contacts were not included in the study.) The data on religious contacts disprove, for *these three communities*, the belief that services of rural churches no longer attract rural people. Two of the nine churches in the three communities were very successful and the others were succeeding in varying degrees, with only one having difficulty in surviving.

All of the communities had consolidated grade and high schools in the village center. Although Hebron had the smallest population, it had more village services, including a telephone exchange, a motion picture theatre, a summer dance pavilion, more lodges, as well as a bank. Likewise, more families owned automobiles and radios in Hebron. However, more community contacts were made on the average by residents of the Athens community.

The German-Swiss in Franklin County, Tennessee, A Study of the Significance of Cultural Considerations in Farming Enterprises. By Walter M. Kollmorgen. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, June 1940. Pp. 113. A-45

Purpose: To show the importance of culture—the techniques, methods, and attitudes transmitted from generation to generation—for a group in helping to develop its economic life.

This report deals with a successful immigrant settlement, the Belvidere community in Franklin County, Tennessee, and shows how a cultural group "attacks the problem of making a living" and how this group uses available resources, based on their conditioning in European methods in contrast with the traditional farmers of Franklin County, who used the "methods of the frontier" and undermined the soil.

Most of the ancestors of these German-Swiss had settled first in the northern states between 1830-1850 and later moved to Tennessee. The settlement developed gradually. Many of the settlers were craftsmen and some had a little capital at the time they came. From the beginning, the Swiss had large well-kept gardens to help vary their diet. During the depression no German-Swiss were on relief. Nearly all the social activities as well as the religious life of the

group are centered in their church, and include athletic interests and other types of gatherings.

Most of the farmers in the county follow a farming program that is common to the edge of the cotton belt, while the German-Swiss in the same county have a far more diversified program of farming and do not rely so heavily on cotton. As a result their soil is more built up. The depression created a serious economic problem for the German-Swiss because of low prices, low average income, and lack of ability to meet interest charges on borrowed capital. For the other farmers, in addition to the problems faced by the German-Swiss, the depression accentuated faults that had long been present, such as inadequate machinery, soil erosion, lack of rotation of crops, not enough livestock, poor housing, and inadequate diet.

A-46 *Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas.* By T. C. McCormick. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 285, May 1933. Pp. 43.

Purpose: This study is an attempt to discover the trend in the breaking down of open-country neighborhoods in a selected farming locality in Arkansas because of the influence of automobiles and a dominant urban center.

Washington County, Arkansas, is in the extreme northwestern part of the State. The largest town and county seat is Fayetteville, population (in 1930) of 7,394. There is one other town of over 2,500 population, and seven other incorporated places of less than 2,500 plus several unincorporated centers. Total population of the county was 39,255—26 percent urban, 57 percent rural-farm, and 17 percent rural non-farm. Almost 98 percent of the population is native white. Agriculture is the basic industry of the county, with three-fourths of the area of the county in farms. The average size of farm is 94 acres and over two-thirds of the farmers own their farms. The county is one of the leading fruit growing counties in the State.

The area surveyed had a low proportion of children and a high proportion of persons past middle age, a higher proportion of males than females, and over 60 percent of the heads of families born in Arkansas. About 50 percent of the families owned automobiles or trucks. The farm population appeared to be above average for the South in the indexes used.

Economic Activities

The purchasing habits of the farm families brought them to the villages first, the small city next, then to the hamlets, and lastly to the open-country store or peddlers. Most of the goods sold by the farm families were to the villagers and next to the open-country store and peddlers. The small city ranked last. Only 19.2 percent of the families participated in cooperative markets.

Religious Activities

Some member or members of 91 percent of all families surveyed habitually attended some sort of religious meeting. 61 percent attended open-country churches; 24 percent attended hamlet churches; 12.3 percent, village churches; and 2.3 percent, the small city churches. Automobile ownership increased the rate of attendance. All items investigated indicate that the churches in the two

villages and the small city enjoyed a larger membership, better material equipment and superior ministerial service relative to those in the hamlets and the open-country. Nevertheless, a large majority of the farm families chose to participate in religious activities in the latter places.

Educational Activities

It was found that 38.7 percent of the families had one or more children attending school. Most of the elementary school teaching was in open-country and hamlet schools, while most of the senior high school training was received in the village. Only 1.2 percent of the families had a member going to college. The small city, Fayetteville, was the source of agricultural extension activities, as it was the county seat where extension service exhibits were held and where the headquarters for the agricultural extension agents was located.

Social Activities

A total of 92 percent of the families participated in social activities, mostly in the open-country. Families with automobiles participated more than those without cars. Over 90 percent of the parties and the dances were at farm houses, while 5.1 percent of the school entertainments were in the open-country. Only 6 percent of the families had a member who attended a lodge. Four out of every five families took a daily or weekly newspaper or both. Most of the recreational activity of the county was centered in the village. 44.9 percent of the population surveyed attended the motion picture theatres in Fayetteville. Members of families having automobiles went to picture shows twice as often as those without cars.

Health Service

"Of the farm families who participated in the combined services of physicians, dentists, and hospitals, 66.8 percent obtained them from villages with 500-999 inhabitants, 18.1 percent from the small city of Fayetteville, 10.6 percent from hamlets, 2.0 from large cities, 1.7 percent from villages with 1,000-2,400 inhabitants, and 0.8 percent from the open-country. Villages, therefore, led in these services, with cities second."

The organized activities of the families surveyed were only partly attached to open-country neighborhoods. "Two chief characteristics seem to stand out from the situation as a whole. The first of these is the lack of adequate organization in all fields. . . . Second, in most types of organizations, but especially in religion and to a large extent in elementary education, there occurred an excessive number of small units . . . weak, expensive and inefficient in the open-country neighborhood."

"White Bluff: A Community of Commuters." By Helen L. Smith. *Economic Geography*, Vol. 19, 1943. Pp. 143-147. **A-47**

Purpose: To describe the development of a rural community as a resort area and as a village for commuters into a large town.

White Bluff, Tennessee, is a village about thirty miles west of Nashville. It had a population of 522. The village was founded in the late eighteen-sixties.

Fine timberland and farmland plus its use as a summer colony, as well as improvement in transportation facilities, have enabled the village to develop.

There were eight sawmills in the area which gave supplementary work to the farmers. Farming itself was not sufficiently adequate to have permitted the village to expand as a trade and service center.

Because of its climatic and transportation advantages for commuters, as well as its excellence as a recreational resort, White Bluff will continue to expand as a suburban residential center. About seventy-five persons lived in the village and worked in Nashville and Dickson, Tennessee. Others had jobs working in a nearby state park project so the town was becoming more dependent on outside areas to support it. The village was changing from a trade center village in a rural area to a residential village near an urban area.

ALLEGHENY:

- A-48** *A Social Study of the Blacksburg Community.* By William Edward Garnett. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute; Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 299, August 1935. Pp. 105.

Purpose: To make "an impartial analysis of the forces molding community life and of prevailing conditions and trends in their many interrelationships."

The Blacksburg community, which was settled about 1744, is in the northwestern part of Montgomery County, Virginia. The community is in the Allegheny region and its topography is characterized by mountain ranges, valleys, and rolling hills. The natural boundaries of the area are about 20 miles long and 8 miles wide. Transportation is adequate for there are two small railroads, two highways, and several county roads.

In addition to the small town center of Blacksburg, the community includes 24 neighborhoods with 10 to 75 families each. Agriculture predominates in 11 neighborhoods and mining in 6. Better transportation facilities, changes in trade practices, and school consolidation have been weakening neighborhood solidarity, while special educational groups for certain neighborhoods, the influence of neighborhood churches, and superior leadership in some areas are factors holding neighborhoods together.

The population in the village center increased from 768 in 1900 to 1,406 in 1930; population in the district increased from 4,373 to 6,844 during this time. Almost half of the population was under 20 years of age. The people are mostly native Americans, but they are heterogeneous economically and culturally. Approximately six hundred people involving almost one hundred families are in the marginal group in terms of economic and social status and in poor heredity. There is much inbreeding in this marginal group plus large families that in part result from early marriages. Many of the marginal families have come from adjacent mountain areas to better themselves. Some of these families have moved on, because a study of 577 migrants who left the community in the last 50 years revealed that one-third were from marginal families. Likewise, skilled and professional workers have also been lost to the community in great numbers.

Most of the families in the Blacksburg community are engaged in agriculture, mining, trade, or service occupations, or work for the Virginia Polytechnic In-

stitute, which is located in the community. The area has an unusually high percentage of professional workers because of the college, and it also has a relatively large body of unskilled workers.

There were 300 farms in the community in 1930. Three out of every five were less than 50 acres in size, and more than half the farmers in that year had gross incomes of only \$300 to \$750. General farming and stock raising were the principal types of farming. The community also had four coal mines with railroad facilities. Nearly 20 percent of the families were dependent on mining. 85 percent of the miners surveyed were in the lowest income strata of the community. The Virginia Polytechnic Institute was the biggest community enterprise since it had an annual payroll of over \$500,000. A third of the families in the community are dependent on the school. Many activities which the average community has to sponsor on its own initiative are superseded by college programs.

"The greatest weaknesses in the economic foundations of the community's life are the high percentage of families with low incomes and small property holdings and the limited employment opportunities in proportion to the number of potential workers." Over 20 percent of the white people in the village and 50 percent in the area outside the village have a submarginal standard of living.

The community has an excellent climate. A health department has been established but, as of 1935, a small community hospital or clinical center was still needed. The death rate is low, but there was still work to be done in eliminating a rather high proportion of communicable diseases such as whooping cough, chicken pox, pneumonia, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and diseases caused by intestinal parasites.

The Blacksburg schools do not measure up to the level of efficiency expected in a well developed community. Furnishing its large marginal population with the right kind of education is the most difficult educational problem of the community.

The chief means of recreation for the open-country neighborhoods are family visitings, contacts at local stores and agencies, and church events. In the village, movie attendance is the most common form of recreation for the families with fair incomes. The college also has activities in which some of the village people participate, but better general community recreational facilities are needed.

In 1935, the Blacksburg village had 36 adult and 13 youth organizations of various types and an equal number of church organizations, all supported by about 540 white families. These included fraternal and social clubs, a building and loan association, a volunteer fire department, etc. The open-country area with approximately 1,000 white families had 12 non-church adult groups, 15 youth organizations, and over 40 religious groups. These included home demonstration clubs, evening schools, etc. Most of the town organizations had few members from the open-country neighborhoods. Most of the organizations were quite stable.

The churches are the most important organizations in the community. There were 26 churches, or one for every 317 people. Fifteen of these churches had less than 40 members while over fifty percent of the people of the community 10 years of age or over were church members in name and not in attendance. The community had too many churches and organizations to function effectively. There was a community federation to coordinate and guide community

efforts; however, it was not completely successful. Blacksburg is an above average community that needs a greater awareness of the problems of its underprivileged groups.

- A-49** *Fort Lewis: A Community in Transition.* By F. N. House, F. W. Hoffer, R. H. Barker, and C. C. Rodeffer. Charlottesville: University of Virginia: The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1930. Pp. 56.

Purpose: The survey shows the transition of a rural community from a farming area to a partially suburban locality.

This report is based on a study made by the Community League of Fort Lewis, Virginia, under the auspices of the Cooperative Educational Association of Virginia with technical assistance by the Department of Sociology of the University of Virginia. The survey was made by volunteer workers living in the community, while the results were tabulated, analyzed, and written by graduate students and faculty members.

"The Fort Lewis community is located in the valley of the Roanoke River immediately west of Salem, the county seat of Roanoke County, Virginia. Its length from east to west is about five miles and its average width is between two and three miles. . . . The general elevation of the inhabited portion lies between 1,000 and 1,500 feet." The early history of the community and its surrounding area dates back to pre-revolutionary times.

There are seven neighborhoods within the larger community. One neighborhood along the main highway has the newest homes and is characterized by the fact that many of its residents attend church in Salem and Roanoke, and by the urban appearance of its homes. Another neighborhood is centered around a school, a church, and a brick plant. A third neighborhood has the railroad station as its nucleus. It is a trading center, has the post office, and a church to make it probably the strongest neighborhood in the community. The fourth neighborhood has a church as its unifying force. The "Texas" neighborhood is characterized as a neighborhood only because it is not definitely connected with any of those surrounding it. The sixth neighborhood is mostly Negro, with a colored church and school. The seventh neighborhood is across the river and is easily determined since it is more isolated than the others. A church provides the nucleus of this neighborhood which is composed mostly of farm families.

"The natural resources of the area provide for two basic types of economic activity of work, farming and brick making." Farming is the most important. Large scale farming in the community is decreasing and is being replaced by the smaller scale and more intensive type. Farm tenancy appears to be decreasing. Tobacco farming has been replaced by wheat, corn, and hay while the trend is for the latter to be replaced by dairy, orchard, garden, and poultry products which can be sold readily in Salem and Roanoke.

"Contrasted to the Fort Lewis of the past with its large plantations, its single school and church, a community without stores or post office is the present Fort Lewis with its two hundred fifty homes, many of which are of a distinctly urban type, its post office at Glenvar, new brick school building, five churches, four stores, three industries, good roads, and its truck farms, producing vegetables, fruit, dairy, and poultry products."

The community has been changing with the county, which is becoming urbanized, due primarily to the rapid growth of Roanoke, Virginia. During the period 1910-1920, the Fort Lewis community had a percentage growth in population almost double the entire county, greater than the city of Roanoke, and more than five times greater than the State of Virginia. The population in 1928 was about 1,100. Forty percent of the population were composed of migrants and their descendants who had moved into the community in the last ten years prior to the survey. There were only eight Negro families in the area, characterizing a great decrease in Negro population since the Civil War.

"From an economic and social viewpoint, probably the most important of the movements away from the community are those of the large number of people—nearly a hundred—who go to Roanoke and Salem for work." Fort Lewis is largely dependent on these two cities for trade, recreation, and amusement. About fifty persons in the community and its immediate environs attend church in Salem or Roanoke.

"A somewhat different but significant trend of population movement from the community is found in the fact that about fifty percent of the children born in the community migrate before reaching maturity."

In 1890, farming was the chief and only occupation of any importance in contrast with the situation in 1930 when 63 occupations were represented in the community. Seventy-two percent of the working population at that time were engaged in occupations other than farming. Those neighborhoods of the community nearest Salem or Roanoke had the highest proportions of nonfarming people. Those neighborhoods were tending to become residential districts for the workers and business people of Roanoke and Salem who wanted to avoid the inconveniences of city life.

Fort Lewis had five churches, including one Negro church. The religious aspects of the community were fairly typical of a small rural community, for it was "overchurched." Membership is small and only one church had a full time minister. Religion seems to be more divisive than an organizing influence in the community as each of the churches draws many of its members from the vicinity of every other church, creating competition, rivalry, and conflict.

The one school in the community has had an integrating influence for it furnishes a common meeting place for the district. Among the youth, automobile outings and attendance at the movies in Salem and Roanoke provide the most popular forms of amusement while the older people of the community confine their "amusement" mostly to visiting friends and neighbors and to trips to the two nearby cities. Fort Lewis has no theater, regular community center, or other organization which tends to integrate and supervise the leisure time activities of the people as a whole.

"The increase in population in the Fort Lewis community, as in any community, has resulted in a struggle for land and for place of residence which has distributed the newcomers geographically on the basis of their economic and cultural standing." Other divisive factors include segregation of the Negroes into their own neighborhood, rivalry between churches, lack of a center of common interest, except the school, the effect of the proximity of the community to Salem and Roanoke, and the domination of the business neighborhood over the rest of the community.

Fort Lewis is undergoing a process of urbanization and is tending to become a suburb of the city of Roanoke. Its future program will have to be shaped on that basis.

APPALACHIAN:

- A-50** *A Rural Community in Time of War, the Valley Community in Rabun County, Georgia.* By Frank D. Alexander. Atlanta: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September 1945. Pp. 40. (Mimeographed)

Purpose: This report, one of a series, attempts to describe the effects of World War II on a rural community.

The Valley Community is located in the mountains of northeast Georgia. Some of the soil is good but there are too many people on the farms of the community to maintain an adequate standard of living, since the nature of the terrain limits the amount of available acreage. The pleasant summer climate has resulted in the opening of several tourist homes and summer cottages in the community. Sawmills provide the only industry.

The foremost community institution is the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, which is a senior high school and junior college that stresses vocational education. The school has a large farm, which during the war was kept running through the operation of a farm family plan, with 17 families participating as tenants.

The population of the community remained relatively stable in spite of war migration, being 1,120 in 1941 and 1,138 in 1943. The population is homogeneous and stable, with only one Negro family to the community. Although rail and highway facilities are available, many families are still isolated. Less than 50 percent of the families have a car or truck.

Farming is of the self-sufficient type and on a small scale. The owner-operator averaged 17.5 cultivated acres in 1943, and the renter-operator, 12.7 acres. Almost two-thirds of the farmers own their farms, which average about 49 acres. The Tennessee Valley Authority cooperates with some farmers in the area through unit-demonstration farms, but its influence is not great for the majority of the farmers in the community.

Organized community activities have difficulty maintaining themselves. The public school handling junior high and lower grade levels is the only institution in the community that can be patronized by all the community. The war did not seriously affect the school. There are six churches in the community. Although there is some cooperation between churches, "their relationships are not entirely amicable." The war has only slightly affected the churches. They are still the principal voluntary institutional interest of the people. The war has increased contributions and lessened regularity of attendance of some members.

Business in general improved during the war as incomes in the community rose. The war lessened opportunities for recreation, and family life was apparently strengthened. The Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School was the institution most affected by the war since it lost many students. These losses may result in the permanent discontinuance of the junior college and the development of a high school and adult education program that will be tied in more closely with the community.

The war has not changed the basic problem of the community—too many farmers on too little land. The Valley Community was too far away from any large war industry or military training camp to have been affected greatly by the war. "Moreover, its past has been marked by isolation accompanied by informal ways of working at common interests and by resistance to formal organization, the influences of which are sufficiently strong to prevent any marked changes in the people's fundamental patterns of living even though the nation has been involved in a war."

Effects of Industrial Development on Rural Life in Sullivan County, Tennessee. A-51

By C. E. Allred and J. C. Fitch. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Record, Extension Series, Vol. V, No. 3, May 1928. Pp. 45.

Purpose: To find out the effect which the commercial development of a rural community has on rural population, agriculture, schools, and all phases of community life.

This study is based on two localities nearly equal in soil fertility and topography, one having remained agricultural and the other having become developed commercially. The communities surveyed were Kingsport and Rogersville, together with eight rural communities within a 12 mile radius of Kingsport and eight rural communities within twelve miles of Rogersville. Kingsport, an unincorporated village in 1917, had about 12,000 people at the time of the survey and had developed into a manufacturing town.

According to an analysis of census figures of Tennessee from 1910 to 1920, the rural population in territories close to manufacturing centers has more than held its own, while in the more remote sections rural population has decreased. Although the rural communities increased in population rapidly when hard-surfaced roads were constructed, a good road was not enough, since there had to be a nearby industrial center to which the good road led.

Three groups apparently made up the population increase in various communities in the Kingsport area. These groups were: (1) people coming in from the marginal areas to farm lands closer to a local market, (2) people who operate truck farms while some members of the family work in the nearby industrial center, and (3) those people moving out of the city to the adjacent rural area.

The development of a manufacturing area causes an increase in population and this population increase may lead to other advantages such as better roads, more concentrated transportation, better school systems, larger church membership and better operated churches, more adequate recreational facilities and social life, and more cooperative enterprises. Surplus farm labor could get jobs in Kingsport, but the surplus farm labor around Rogersville had to go elsewhere for work. Thus, Kingsport and its adjacent rural communities are far more likely to keep their younger people.

Both community areas raise about the same general types of crops. There was an increase in crop yields in the Kingsport area, while the Rogersville area had increases in some crops that barely offset decreases in other crops. Both areas showed a trend towards more cash crops and better crop systems. The Kingsport area had more tractors, although the topography of the land in the Rogersville area is more suited to tractor farming.

The percentage of tenancy to the total number of farmers decreased in both areas but the decrease in the Kingsport area was due to an increase in farm population and farm ownership. In the Rogersville area the decrease was due to migration of tenants. There was no indication that manufacturing was causing absentee landlordism. The farmers of the Kingsport area have been able to secure their needs because of population increases, better leadership, and better financial resources resulting from their being in an industrial area.

Kingsport has more adequate medical and hospital facilities than has Rogersville. Manufacturing contributes to the health of the nearby rural area by favorably affecting the social and economic conditions of rural communities so that doctors will stay; by getting new doctors as the population increases and the city enlarges; by improving transportation and communications so the doctor can get in quicker touch with his rural patients; and by having better hospitals and more dentists.

Manufacturing aids rural education by providing revenue through taxation, permitting better schools in town to which children in the surrounding communities can come, establishing trade schools, etc. The Kingsport area naturally has more revenue than the Rogersville area, plus longer school terms, better physical equipment and buildings, better library facilities, and a higher salary scale for teachers.

Church membership remained fairly constant in both areas between 1914 and 1925, with about 35 percent of the population of each area belonging to some church. Attendance has become more irregular and uncertain. There is more Sunday school activity in the Kingsboro area because it is more thickly settled and because not as many young people in proportion to the total population have left the area as was true for Rogersville. The churches in the latter community and its adjoining periphery are not in as good repair as are the churches of Kingsport. This lack of comfortable churches in the rural communities is a real factor in attendance in the winter. Salaries for ministers are higher in the Kingsport area, but in both cases they are inadequate.

In one of the rural communities of the Rogersville area, the headquarters of the International Pressmen's Union has been established. This organization has aided the rural community by furnishing employment, buying farm products, securing better roads, and permitting the community to utilize to some extent its medical and recreational facilities.

A-52 *Neighborhoods and Communities of Cumberland County, Tennessee.* By H. J. Bonser and R. G. Milk. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. Rural Research Series Monograph No. 129, 1941. Pp. 20. (Mimeographed)

Purpose: This study is designed to delineate the communities and neighborhoods of Cumberland County, Tennessee, located on the Cumberland Plateau.

Although the usual concept of a rural community is of a town-country community with specialized trade and social organization, this concept is not strictly applicable to communities in the Cumberland Plateau and the Southern Highland counties of Tennessee. In many cases, only stores, high schools, and other basic organizations are in the county seat, for the communities of this area are of a simple type.

The communities of this county include:

Crossville, the county seat, which had 1,505 people in 1940. It is the chief trading center for most of the county. About 150 families residing outside the community and these neighborhoods are dependent on Crossville for school, church, and other services. Of the six neighborhoods composing the community, two center their activities around the neighborhood school. The neighborhoods range in size from 23 to 75 families.

Crab Orchard Community is an unincorporated trading center that also includes two open country neighborhoods. The community is mainly dependent on a large lime plant. There were about 245 families in the community in 1940. There are six churches, seven general stores, several garages, two grist mills, and a doctor. Also the community has a large grade school with six teachers, plus two small schools.

Pleasant Hill Community, with its five neighborhoods of over 200 families, is located on a paved highway. In addition to four stores, it has such organizations as a church-sponsored academy and hospital, a woman's club, a Masonic lodge, a consumer's cooperative, a credit union, a farmer's cooperative for farm machinery. The academy has many recreational activities such as moving pictures and extension teaching, which help to develop the community.

Woody Community, an open-country community with five neighborhoods, is on a highway 10 miles from the county seat. It is dependent on the county seat for trade in the more specialized items and services as well as for the education of its high school youth. The community is held together by a three-teacher grade school, a few general stores, and several churches. In the area there were nine economic operations which have long since closed down.

Big Lick Community is geographically less accessible than most communities in the county. This factor, plus a progressive social program of long standing in the Big Lick Church, which resulted in a study club, a farmers' association, a homestead project for young people, and a health center, have helped unite this community of approximately 85 families.

Hebbertsburg Community is made up of three neighborhoods. Years ago the area had one church and one school. Dissention about the school resulted in the formation of four schools and the splitting of the church. However, there has been a trend towards consolidation of the schools. The community has about 73 families.

Daysville-Ozore Community consists of five rather independent neighborhoods with about 319 families. Most people in the community work and trade at a larger center in an adjoining county and, except for the high school and political boundaries, would be part of this larger center. The church provides the focal point of four of the five neighborhoods, while the school is the principal center in the remaining neighborhood.

Mayland Community has 90 families in three neighborhoods, and is serviced by a railroad and a paved highway. It is on the fringe of the trade areas of two towns. There is a lack of feeling of community solidarity.

Clifty Community is a loosely knit community of five neighborhoods, totaling about 100 families. Economic resources are very poor since the community was formerly dependent on mine operations that no longer exist. The community depends largely on other villages and towns for its services.

Vandever Community is near the county seat. It is a rather closely bound area because of the geographic proximity of its neighborhoods and a social program centered around the consolidated school. The four neighborhoods making up the community have about 100 families.

In addition to the above communities, the county contains many neighborhoods or clusters of families living in a more or less contiguous area. There is also a part-time farming project, the Cumberland Homesteads, which was set up by the Farm Security Administration. There are about 200 families in this planned community. The community has two churches, a cooperative medical association, a women's club, a centralized grade school, and a high school. There is also a hosiery mill employing 150 persons, which furnishes some non-farm income to the community.

- A-53** *Local Leadership in Rural Communities of Cumberland County, Tennessee.* By H. J. Bonser, R. G. Milk, and C. E. Allred. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Department, Rural Research Series, Monograph No. 144, 1942. Pp. 79. (Mimeographed)

Purpose: To discover leadership traits among country people to assist in the selection and development of local voluntary leaders who might contribute to desirable agricultural and rural life programs.

The study covered the local leaders of social groups in the open country and village neighborhoods of Cumberland County, Tennessee.

In settling Cumberland County, the tendency has been for scattered neighborhoods to spring up at various points. Each settlement attempted to have its own school, church, and store, but roads and the use of school busses and rolling stores, i.e., peddlers in trucks, have removed the one-room school and the general store from many neighborhoods. Financial and other problems frequently eliminated the neighborhood church.

The Tennessee Central Railroad and an important highway passing through the county permit more access to outside places than is usual for most counties in the Cumberland Plateau. However, connecting roads between settlements, except those leading to the county seat, are often in poor condition and sometimes impassable. Low incomes, few automobiles, and the difficult terrain tend to force group life in the county to be on a neighborhood basis, with leadership problems conditioned by strictly local phenomena.

The population of the county has increased rather steadily from 3,461 persons in 1870 to 15,592 in 1940. The inhabitants are relatively young in age, with 56 percent being under 25 years of age compared with a national average of 48 percent. Although births were almost three and a half times the number of deaths from 1930 to 1940, only half the population growth was due to excess of births over deaths. The rest was due to migration.

At the time of the study, there were 65 neighborhoods in the county besides those in the county seat and in a government sponsored part-time farming project. These neighborhoods averaged 38 families, with about five people to a family.

"Organizations or interest groups arising out of likenesses or differences of interest, age, sex, occupation, etc., were not highly developed in the county."

Home demonstration clubs, 4-H clubs, and Parent-Teacher's associations constituted the principal social organizations of the neighborhoods. The residents of a neighborhood usually did not go outside of their own neighborhood to join an organization.

Of the 61 religious groups, i.e., churches and related organizations, over a third were Baptist. Church worship was held weekly by 12 percent of the congregations, every two weeks by 40 percent, monthly by 24 percent, and intermittently by the remainder. All churches, except for 5 percent, had a Sunday school. Only 5 percent of the churches considered social activities a major function of the church.

Neighborhood organizations in general relied too frequently on personalities rather than on issues as factors in social organization. There was a lack of formality in most organizations as well as a general lack of cooperation. Half of the community's problems were economic or directly associated with making a living.

Among the characteristics of the leaders of organizations in Cumberland County were:

1. They were older than the average of all the people.
2. They were better educated than the adult population as a whole.
3. Maintenance of the status quo was a strong goal of many leaders.
4. Lack of definite aims in many cases indicated a negative or passive leadership.
5. Conformity to the established modes of conduct was considered the most desirable trait for a leader.
6. Training in leadership and in methods appeared to improve the ability of the leaders to offer better programs.

Community leadership appears to have improved in the last ten years because of a higher caliber of school teachers in the county and because of the influence of agricultural and home economics representatives in the county. Any further program for developing leaders will require educational processes and better community organization to do the job.

A Social and Economic Survey of the Spencer Soil-Conservation Area. By F. D. Cornell, Jr. Morgantown: West Virginia University, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 269, April 1936. Pp. 36. **A-54**

Purpose: The purpose of this study was to show the social and economic conditions of a people in a soil conservation demonstration area so as to aid in carrying out more effectively future programs in the area. A resurvey on results was supposed to be made in five years. The present survey was sponsored by the U. S. Department of the Interior as well as by the West Virginia Experiment Station.

The Spencer area lies in two counties, Wirt and Roane, and is in the Appalachian Plateau. For the purposes of this study, the area, which comprised over 150,000 acres, was divided into eight districts. The survey included 772 farm families.

Population in the two counties decreased from 1900 to 1930. The timber and soil resources of the counties were being depleted and the lessening of economic opportunity affected the population. There was a decrease in the number of farms from 1900 to 1930, but the 1935 Census of Agriculture showed an increase in the number of farms between 1930 and 1935, following a national trend during the depression. Although most of the farmers own their farms, the Spencer area was a marginal farm area that was losing its human and material resources.

The younger generation seems to have left the farms. Only 39 out of 754 farm operators were 30 years of age or less. Over 41 percent of the males and 47 percent of the females, married and over 21, had left the area.

Over 85 percent of the farms in 1936 were on dirt roads. Although the Spencer area is a livestock producing center, poor roads make marketing difficult for farmers. The average total receipts per farm were \$387.35, almost one-third of which came from non-agricultural sources. 16 percent of the farm families surveyed were on direct relief. Crop yields were low since the land was so eroded. The average farm had 134.5 acres.

The Spencer area was also striking in the lack of social organization. The church had one-third of all the people in the area affiliated with it, but no other organizations showed any such membership. The churches were the centers of social activities for the community as well as the religious centers. Neighborhood elementary schools and two consolidated high schools in nearby towns accounted for the education of the children of the district.

The portrait of the Spencer area in 1936 showed an area of continuing poverty and erosion, human and material.

A-55 *Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians.*

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bureau of Home Economics, and Forest Service in Cooperation with the Office of Education, United States Department of Interior and the Agricultural Experiment Stations of Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 205, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1935. Pp. 184.

Purpose: To describe the economic and social problems and conditions of the Southern Appalachian region as a basis for planning agency community programs.

This study was requested by a number of agencies so that they could plan their programs based on a comprehensive survey of economic and social conditions and tendencies in the Southern Appalachian region. Sections on physical features and conditions, types of land utilization, farm organization and management, as well as parts of other sections have been omitted in this digest where the material was not directly pertinent in describing the rural community in this area.

Population increases in the Southern Appalachians from 1900 to 1930 were chiefly in counties where coal mining and manufacturing have been expanding. Population decreases occurred for the most part in counties where such industrial development was not taking place. The total number of persons in all incorporated places where populations were less than 2,500 each in 1900, increased

about 122 percent between 1900 and 1930. The larger places grew more rapidly from 1900 to 1930 than did the smaller localities. Towns with populations of 2,500 to 5,000 grew more rapidly than did towns with less than 2,500 people or the small cities of 5,000 to 10,000. The trend was towards urbanization. "The location and size of the larger cities indicate that towns that depend mainly upon serving local farmers are not likely to become cities unless other industries develop nearby."

The rural-farm population had the largest number of persons per family in 1930, with the rural nonfarm group next, and the urban population last. Also the larger families seem to be concentrated in the poorer agricultural areas.

Social conditions and social organizations in the Southern Appalachians are not on a par with other areas in the United States. In the larger urban centers and in many parts of the Appalachian valleys, the situation compares favorably with that in the United States as a whole but in most other parts of the region the situation compares very unfavorably.

Much of the agriculture of the Southern Appalachians is self-sufficient, causing the agricultural marketing system to be relatively decentralized and to serve, through small markets, consumers throughout the region. Commercialized agriculture is centered mostly in tobacco, cotton, and fruits.

The terrain of the Appalachians has hindered the development of railroads, highways, and water routes. This has been among the chief causes for the backward economic development and isolation of much of the region.

The retail stores in much of the Appalachians have a small volume of business, a low degree of specialization, and poor service compared with the standards of commercial, industrial, and most other agricultural areas. The purchasing power of the people in the region is relatively low. Cooperative marketing among farmers is of minor importance. Manufacturing is dispersed rather than concentrated in particular localities. The usual manufacturing establishment is small. About one-third of the gainfully employed people of this region were engaged in agriculture in 1930 with work in manufacturing and mechanical industries coming next and extraction of minerals (coal mining) ranking third.

The tendency of doctors to locate in cities and other larger centers of population has left many rural areas, particularly in the mountainous sections, with no physicians who are readily available. Most hospitals are in or near the large cities and towns, and some localities are 50 miles from a general hospital.

Many children are retarded in going through what might be called a normal school program. Late entrance into school, irregular attendance, long distances to the schools, the low quality of education—all affect the efficient operation of an adequate school system. In general, school terms are short, and comparatively few children in the area receive the equivalent of a high school education. The mountain area in particular is characterized by a shortage of school buildings, poorly constructed and equipped school houses, shortened terms, and in extreme cases no facilities whatsoever within a reasonable distance for some school children.

The region has a comparatively large number of churches considering its total population. Poor transportation in some areas, racial differences, and the large variety of religious denominations contribute to this condition. Seventy percent of the approximately 1,000 churches in the counties surveyed were one-

room buildings. This was particularly true of churches in hamlets and in the open country, but even villages had a high percentage of one-room churches.

Three-fourths of the churches surveyed had ministers living elsewhere who came periodically to preach, and only one church out of every fifty had a full time resident minister. One church out of every four had fewer than 25 resident members. The per capita contribution for the support of churches was very low. Very few churches had services every Sunday, and such churches were located in the villages.

Next to preaching services, the most important activity of the Appalachian church consists of holding Sunday school. Other types of church activities such as women's societies, young people's societies, and brotherhoods are below the average for the nation. "This is due to the retarded development of the more mountainous parts of the region and to a public sentiment influenced by anti-missionary views." Between 1906 and 1926, church membership in the region increased almost twice as fast as the population, but whether these gains can be kept is uncertain, since the churches are doing very little to adjust themselves to rapidly changing conditions.

A-56 "Gatlinburg, A Mountain Community." By Edwin J. Foscoe. *Economic Geography*, Vol. 21, No. 3, July 1940. Pp. 192-205.

Purpose: The article shows the way in which a rural community is changed through the introduction of new conditions.

Gatlinburg is a small village in Savier County, located in a mountain valley of eastern Tennessee. It has developed from an isolated mountain community into a well known resort town. The community is over one hundred years old and was the scene of much fighting during the Civil War. Its recovery after the war was slow. Gatlinburg was largely isolated from this time to the beginning of the twentieth century, for roads were almost impassible and few contacts were had with the outside world. Then began the development of the logging and lumbering industry in the region. Wagon and logging roads were opened up and logging railroads constructed. By 1909 the peak production had been reached and lumbering was declining.

The decline of the lumber industry was followed by the rise of the resort industry some years later. The village is on a paved trans-mountain highway between Knoxville and Asheville and as a result Gatlinburg was able to take advantage of its location as a gateway to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This park was created in 1926, and the village started its real growth after the creation of the park and the building of the highway.

In 1912, the Pi Beta Fraternity, a national organization of college women, founded a school in Gatlinburg. At that time it had one teacher and 13 pupils. In 1943-44, the school had 14 teachers and 386 pupils. It is now financed by the county but is still owned and operated by the fraternity.

Today the chief activities of the people of the community are the making of handicrafts such as weaving, basket making, and wood working, and caring for tourists. The village has four large resort hotels which are locally owned. Since resort hotels cannot be built within the boundaries of the park, Gatlinburg will continue to be the chief resort town for the western side of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties. By C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics Cooperating, Social Research Report No. X, October 1938. Pp. 59. **A-57**

Purpose: The study, made in 1935, deals with the level of living of 733 open-country farm families and 83 village non-farm families in two Kentucky counties in the northeastern Cumberland Plateau and in two North Carolina counties in the Blue Ridge subregion of the Appalachians.

The Kentucky counties were Morgan and Magoffin and the North Carolina counties were Avery and Haywood.

The average values of living including the value of all goods and services consumed such as housing and maintenance, food, clothing, health, recreation and education, auto and truck repairs, etc., were:

\$798 for village families

662 for open-country owner families

426 for open-country tenant families

"Less than one-half of the value of living for the farm families was purchased. 83 percent of that for the village families was purchased." Farm owners and tenants produced a relatively large proportion of their food on the farms. "Open country owner and tenant families allocated 53 and 62 percent of their total values of living to food; village families reported 35 percent for this category."

Below are shown some figures for various material aspects of the cost of living for the three groups:

	Village	Family of open-country owner	Family of open-country tenant
Average replacement value of home.....	\$791	\$509	\$196
Average expenditures for clothing.....	114	78	52
Expenditures for social participation, education and reading.....	36	20	4

Of all the interviewed families, one-fourth had received cash relief in 1935. The open-country families derived only 36 percent of their total receipts from the sale of farm products, while 35 percent accrued from wages. Total cash receipts for open-country owner families was \$543, for open-country tenant families \$247; and for village families \$787.

The mobility of village families and farm families was not extreme. 80 percent of the children over 21 of the families of farm owners and 73 percent of the children over 21 of tenant families, and 82 percent of the children over 21 of village families were not living in the parental home. Over one-half of all offspring who were residing away from home were living in the same county as that of the parental home. Slightly less than 18 percent had migrated to other states.

There has been an increase in the number of farms in these counties between 1930 and 1935, apparently not so much because of any actual increase in population but because of changes of occupation from non-farm jobs to farming.

Village, open-country owner, and open-country tenant male heads had completed 6.8, 6.4, and 5.2 grades of schooling respectively. The amount of education is positively correlated with total value of family living.

A-58 *Experience-Worlds of Mountain People, Institutional Efficiency in an Appalachian Village and Hinterland Communities.* By M. Taylor Matthews. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, Columbia University Contributions to Education No. 700, 1937. Pp. 210.

Purpose: The work is a behavioristic study of small rural communities, particularly their institutions, in the heart of the Southern Appalachians. The study covers the villages of Shell Creek and Roan Mountain and their surrounding area in Carter County, Tennessee.

The two villages are unincorporated and are within two miles of each other. They serve as trade centers for their respective hinterlands. Before 1930, the communities were somewhat isolated because of lack of roads, but since then roads have been constructed and a consolidated high school has been erected between the two villages, while some residents are now commuting to work at the county seat 20 miles distant.

The area is predominantly agricultural and even local service industries have an agricultural flavor. Truck farming is increasing. The family in the Shell Creek community and to a lesser extent the Roan Mountain community remains much the same sort of institution as it was in pioneer days. It appeared to be the most efficient local institution in providing satisfaction.

Generally among adults the school is considered supplementary to other institutions in producing conformity of behavior to the codes of conduct in these communities. However, among the young people of this area school activities were generally enjoyed more than participation in religious activities. Singing constituted one of the major social activities of the people in this locality. The less urbanized the community or neighborhood was, the more closely it was identified with church activity. There was a high incidence of attendance at Sunday school of some church other than the one which the person considered his own. Increasing age made for increasing identification with some one church.

Through the children who leave home, the family and the community make contacts with the outside world. Marriage is the most common reason for leaving home, with more than ninety percent of the girls leaving for that reason. As a community becomes more urbanized, the proportion of children leaving to secure employment increases. Isolation has created a distinct limitation on understanding of current affairs.

Records of health examinations of school children in the communities show 87 percent of the children had some sort of physical defect. Correction of these health defects is comparatively rare due to the widespread poverty and because mountaineers are not used to having medical services available.

The author concludes that the communities must have more activities for young people that will enable them to be more satisfied than they are with present day institutions, and that the present day institutions need to revise their activities to meet the real needs of youth.

Three Appalachian Communities; Cultural Differentials as They Affect Levels of Living and Population Pressure. By James E. Montgomery. Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1944. Pp. 236. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) **A-59**

Purpose: This study attempts to show that cultural patterns and folk experience in agriculture (such as utilization of crop land, forests and streams) have a direct relation to the ability of the natural resources of an area to support population and that community facilities and organizations affect the level of living and the number of people that a given area can support.

Three Appalachian communities were selected that had different cultural levels and similar natural resources. All were located in the mountains of East Tennessee. The communities selected were Gruetli, Browntown, and Bird's Community.

Gruetli, a Swiss "community" or colony in Grundy County on the Cumberland plateau, had the highest standard of living of the three communities that were investigated. The Swiss settled in this area between 1869 and 1875. They knew farm management and crop cultivation principles. They preserved their forest land and used scientific intensive farming. Most of the Swiss now belong to the Episcopal Church, although in the early days of the settlement the Lutheran Reformed Church had most of the Swiss members. Originally the group had their own school but this is no longer true. The community has 2 general stores, a post office, a restaurant, sawmill, 2 churches, and 3 grade schools. Only 18 Swiss families still remain. The community is relatively stable at present, but immigration, intermarriage with other groups, and too few numbers to support separate community institutions are causing the Swiss to be assimilated into the culture of the Americans around them. However, they still manage to maintain a very good standard of living.

Browntown is located on the Cumberland plateau in Cumberland County. The soils are eroded and the timberland is gone. 50 percent of the community's families were on relief in 1942 in contrast to the Swiss, who had no one on relief, although during the depression, a larger percentage of the population of Grundy county (except for the Swiss) were on relief rolls than any other county in the United States.

Religious interests have declined with the Holiness Church superseding the Baptist Church in importance. A large percentage of the adults in the community are illiterate. Up to 1943 not a single child in the community had graduated from high school, although such a school was only a mile from the community. Over a period of years, Browntown has become known for its law-breaking, particularly for excessive drunkenness. This community of 144 (32 families) has 76 percent of its population under 20 years of age. Members of the community are closely bound by group consciousness and group loyalty, but their interests are too localized because of physical and cultural isolation.

Bird's Community is in the northeastern part of Sevier County and dates back to 1750. Two distinct neighborhoods have developed in the community. Religious influences have declined. The older neighborhood patronized a Methodist Church and the newer one, whose members were less well off economically, preferred a Missionary Baptist Church. Each neighborhood has a one-room school. The community has 71 households with approximately 322 people. In 1939, the community became a test demonstration area in the Tennessee Valley

Authority's program to improve farming practices. Diversified farming, soil conservation and more community participation in adult education have resulted from this program. The TVA program is a unifying force, while more contacts with the outside world have resulted in considerable migration between 1932-42.

The Swiss have better health standards than do the members of other communities. They get more medical care, have better sanitary facilities, and more adequate diets. The Swiss have better farms, better dwellings, more adequate barns, more livestock and tools, more books and musical instruments. The heads of households in the Swiss community have twice as much formal education as do heads of households in the other communities. However, the TVA adult education program in Bird's Community is improving the educational status of that area. In terms of more religious participation the Swiss are ahead. They have a relatively higher value on community organization following their European background. Their culture emphasizes thrift and the best techniques of using natural resources. The culture of the other communities does not, however. The work of the TVA and various agricultural services, such as AAA, FSA, etc., is showing that changes in attitudes can be made to improve the other areas.

A-60 *Lebanon: A Virginia Community.* By Leland B. Tate. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 352, May 1943. Pp. 55.

Purpose: This bulletin is a study of a community centered around a small town which is the county seat and whose economy is based on livestock, which is typical of a number of counties in southwest Virginia.

Lebanon was settled over 125 years ago. "The Lebanon community was born on the frontier of the Old West, and lived the life of the frontier during its early years." There are at least 13 distinct neighborhoods, which are mainly the result of topography and church areas. "In terms of social relationships, the area of church affiliation is the most important single factor in determining dispersed neighborhood boundaries." Nearly 95 percent of all families near country churches either are members or attended services, showing that the church is the focal point of most Lebanon neighborhoods.

While Lebanon had 3,439 people in 1940, it must be considered rural except for its classification as urban by census standards, which rates any incorporated community with 2,500 or more as urban. The population is rural, 95 percent white, with more men in the community than women (the ratio being 52 percent to 48 percent), and almost half of its population in the town and the immediate area under 20 years of age. "Lebanon has a surplus crop of children. There is a higher percentage of males among the children and young people and a predominance of females among middle-aged folk. The inference is that many more young men than women migrate to other communities." The townspeople are better educated than those in the hinterland, for they average nine years of schooling compared with an average of five years for those in the country.

Lebanon is dependent on roads for its transportation. At the time of the survey, there were two bus lines and approximately 400 private automobiles

and trucks in the community. For communication the town and environs are dependent on the post office, a telephone exchange, and a newspaper.

"Lebanon agriculture is a combination of general-livestock, part-time and self-sufficient farming, with cattle, sheep, and burley tobacco as the main cash crops." The farms averaged 132 acres each, and there was almost one share-cropper to every farm owner.

The average income for a town dweller was about \$1,200; farm owners averaged about \$1,500 cash income, while sharecroppers made about \$500. Unskilled laborers made even less.

The six schools had 922 pupils, 36 classrooms, and a total value of buildings of \$258,000. The 14 churches had 1,343 members, and a value of buildings of \$63,000. There were five resident ministers, each of whom had other churches to attend outside of Lebanon. The community had a hospital, 2 dentists, 4 doctors, 4 home and farm agents, 10 lawyers, and 30 teachers. There were 19 young people's organizations, other than church groups. All of these organizations were subsidiary affiliations of the Lebanon High School except for the Boy Scouts and the 4-H Club. There were 22 principal adult organizations in the community, exclusive of church organizations.

"Lebanon's formal activities are primarily those pertaining to government, politics, agriculture, trade, education, and religion. . . . There are over 150 public servants and assistants in or near the small-town center of officially 622 persons. This reveals clearly the great centralizing influence of courthouse towns, and their dependence upon county affairs." The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the county farm agent, the Farm Security Administration, and other agricultural agencies have been very active in the county. The Tennessee Valley Authority has been sponsoring a demonstration of the uses of super-phosphate fertilizer in this area since 1937 with very good results.

There are many informal activities in the Lebanon community such as auction sales of land and livestock, carnivals, county-supervisor meetings, and informal debates, such as a weekly series which is sponsored by a Negro and which is attended by both whites and Negroes.

A 1937 study of 259 high school graduates for the years 1926-36 showed that 49 percent had left the county. Almost a fifth of the graduates had gone to other states while the remaining thirty percent, who had migrated, had settled elsewhere in Virginia. However, the town of Lebanon had increased in population from 1920 to 1940, while the rest of the county had had a slight decrease in population.

World War II brought some changes in community activities. Travel and trade had slowed down, compared with the late 1930's. Some stores and filling stations had closed or consolidated.

The Kentucky Mountaineer, A Study of Four Counties of Southeastern Kentucky. By Harriette Wood. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1930. Pp. 112. (Unpublished master's thesis) A-61

Purpose: This study describes the people of Harlan, Letcher, Leslie, and Perry counties in the eastern coal-field area of southeastern Kentucky.

Many of the ancestors of the people of this area came from Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. These ancestors in turn were descendants, in many

cases, of immigrants from England and Scotland. The area has the most extensive coal-mining operations in Eastern Kentucky. It has such towns as Lynch, a huge mining camp of about 8,000 of whom approximately one thousand were native born whites; Benham, a mining community of native born whites; Harlan, a county seat; and Hazard, another county seat, which is also a railroad town. The mountains cut off Leslie County and make it an isolated area. Until 1929, it did not have a single mile of improved road.

In such localities as Leslie County, the attitudes of the people adhere closely to the patterns established by the first pioneers, except for changes caused by such institutions as the mail order catalogue, etc. In Leslie County, all transportation was by foot, horse, or wagon, except for a logging railroad. Homes, mostly two-room box houses, are almost always located close to a creek bed or road. Most of them are in poor condition. Clothing is poor and relatively scarce. The diet is limited and similar for all meals. "Farming, lumbering, moonshining, mining, and road building are practically all of the occupations open to men."

The schools in the county seats and the large mining communities are good but the great majority of district schools throughout the area are poorly equipped and badly taught. There are a few special institutions like the Pine Mountain Settlement School. "The great majority of children in this shut-off region are educationally retarded from two to four years or more." Games, other than imitations of the work activities of adults, are largely unknown. The children are handicapped by a combination of the forces of geographic isolation, arrested civilization, and economic exploitation, resulting in poverty, educational retardation, and very limited vocational opportunity.

The preachers are poorly prepared to do effective work. "The funeral meeting, in which itinerant preachers hold services for all who have died since the last meeting, is the great social event of the region." These meetings are held in the spring and the fall of the year.

Medical services are inadequate and the rough country makes it difficult to get medical aid in an emergency. Bad teeth, trachoma, hookworm, all are common conditions with the mountain folk. Typhoid, pneumonia, and tuberculosis are the chief causes of death in the area.

"Perhaps the most serious effect of isolation in this region is a marked nervous instability that is so general that it amounts to a distinguishing characteristic."

MISSISSIPPI DELTA:

- A-62 "The Social Structure of New-Ground Settlements in the Mississippi Delta." By Rudolf Heberle. *Social Forces*. Vol. 20, No. 2, December 1941. Pp. 232-237.

Purpose: To study social structure in communities in the making.

The new-ground settlements of the Mississippi Delta show the development of rural communities from loose aggregates of families to a more integrated type of society. Flood control on the Mississippi River has made possible the opening of new settlements on formerly abandoned land. This study covers 200 families in ten separate settlements, the survey being made in the spring and summer of 1940. The ratio of owners to tenants or croppers was about 50-50. About two-thirds of the families were Negro.

The rivers provided the main transportation lines and roads tended to follow the waterways in the early days. Settlements formerly were located on the narrow ridges; the new settlements are located between the narrow ridges. These settlements are primitive, since they usually lack practically all conveniences except screening. The land is largely owned by businessmen in nearby cities who bought the land cheaply and who are selling it to the settlers at considerably higher prices. The pattern of development in the area is a "sort of road village with farms extending to about one-half mile into the swamp." Heavy rains cause many of the side roads to become impassable and isolate the more remote homes in the village and surrounding area.

The trade center type of village is almost absent, since the old time plantation setup tended to bring the trade to the county seat or to other small cities instead of patronizing the store in their surrounding vicinity. Some families go 30 miles for their trading, the location being determined by where they can obtain credit in buying their supplies. Cross-roads stores and peddlers also prevent the trade center type of village from developing.

None of the settlements has a school for white children. They attend school in nearby towns through use of school busses. Children of white tenants showed the highest percentage of failure to attend school. There are several Negro schools in the area. There is no white church except for a "Holy Roller" assembly place on one of the farms. The Negroes have several churches. "Thus the white settlers become affiliated through church and school with the older communities while the Negroes tend to form new independent school and church units" and their own neighborhoods.

Visiting personal acquaintances and relatives by both whites and Negroes is very general in all settlements. There are no cooperative societies, but there is much informal mutual aid and borrowing. The area shows great homogeneity in culture, particularly in religion, for 70 percent of the population were Baptists.

The future fate of these communities in the making will depend on the ability of the settlers to stay in spite of small returns from cotton, high annual payments for their land, flood damages, and other related handicaps.

Watson, Arkansas: Effect of War in A Mississippi Delta Community. By T. Wilson Longmore. Little Rock, Arkansas: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, June 1945. Pp. 27. (Mimeographed) **A-63**

Purpose: The study attempts to explain changing cultural patterns in a Mississippi Delta community resulting from the impacts of World War II.

The Watson community "is located in a low-lying alluvial plain at the confluence of the Arkansas River with the Mississippi, and encompasses a hundred square miles." The village center of Watson has three hundred people compared with the three thousand persons in the community residing in the open country. Almost half of the population is Negro. The village has trade, educational, religious, and postal facilities, but medical and related services must be secured from larger community centers about twenty miles distant. The community has 11 neighborhoods, with thirty to sixty families each. There are three types of neighborhoods in the community—plantation, family-size farm, and town.

Mechanization and specialization in agriculture are creating new occupations in the community. The bargaining power of tenants in getting better contracts has increased during the war. The lower classes have more money and do not depend on credit and plantation commissaries as they formerly did. Community life is becoming more complex and formalized.

The population remained fairly stable during the war but there was some out-migration, particularly by Negro families moving to industrial employment areas. Selective service inductions greatly reduced the available labor supply. People in the community naturally have increased their correspondence and were traveling longer distances. More newspapers were being read. The social and economic status of the lower classes was being improved. These forces are creating changes in the ways of the community.

The Methodist church dominated the religious life of the community before the war. The Baptists and Assembly of God denominations have been increasing their strength. White church attendance has risen since 1940 because of increased religious interest and because of the influx of hill farmers and town workers into the community. Negro church attendance has declined because of out-migration to war work.

The war made school attendance more difficult because of poor transportation and the need for labor during the cotton season. There was a teacher shortage and a rise in the costs of operating the schools. Facilities for white school children seemed adequate, while those for Negroes appeared inadequate. Upon graduation, most high school graduates leave the community.

Formal recreation activities lessened during the war.

WESTERN OLD SOUTH:

- A-64** Interrelation of Ecological Organization and Sociability Organization in the Area of Hempstead, Texas. By Henry Allen Bullock. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, April 1942. Pp. 324. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)

Purpose: To study a rural community in southern Texas, emphasizing the role of the Negro in the community, and attempting to develop further the ecological approach to the study of a rural community as well as to provide information to agencies which might need facts about the area. The ecological approach deals with the reciprocal relations between man and environment.

The southeastern part of Texas, where the Hempstead community is located, is very favorable for agriculture since the climate is mild and the soil is fertile. Cotton, corn, fruits, poultry, and cattle raising constitute the principal farm income producers. The community dates back to the 1850's. The development of a railroad through the area aided in the growth of the community, and the completion of paved roads at a later period furthered this expansion. The 15 neighborhoods making up the community are in an area 28 miles long and 15 miles wide. The village center of Hempstead, which is also the county seat, is in Waller County, but part of the community stretches into an adjoining county. Large cotton plantations and ranches that are dependent on the village as a trade center have been developed.

The community had 3,980 people (included in 1,162 families), and its population density was 38 persons per square mile in 1940. There were 97 males to every 100 females, and about one-fourth of the population was under 15. Negroes had 92 males to every 100 females, and the age composition was older than that of the white population. About 48 percent of the families were Negro, the great majority of whom lived in the open-country. Four of the 15 neighborhoods of the community had an all Negro population.

After the Civil War, there was much racial prejudice against Negroes living in the village, so many of them moved into the open-country and formed their own neighborhoods. The growth of the village as a transportation, marketing, and processing center made the need for Negroes greater; and, as racial prejudice lessened, some Negroes returned to the village center. Today most of the Negro workers in the village are employed in domestic service and manufacturing, while in the open-country, two-thirds of the Negro families are tenant farmers compared with 27 percent of the white families in that category. The concentration of Negro families in the open-country is further indicated by the fact that while three-fourths of the village population is white, 63 percent of the open-country families are Negro.

The village center had 1,679 people at the time of the study. The white people of Hempstead were engaged primarily in trade, transportation, and domestic and personal services such as restaurants and hotels. The village had many service agencies for the community, including physicians, schools, churches, stores. As the Hempstead village was only 50 miles from Houston and 124 miles from Dallas and there were good highways and adequate railroad facilities to these cities, the community would use these points to sell produce, particularly poultry, and to purchase more specialized and expensive services than were available in the village. The Houston newspapers were more widely read than the local paper, and both Houston and Dallas were wholesale centers for many of the retail stores in the village.

Among the factors holding the open-country neighborhoods together and giving them stability were longevity of residence with all of the psychological and economic ties that keep people in an area where they have long resided; racial ties in the case of Negroes with their own communities; kinship ties; and other common bonds such as the neighborhood church. The influence of the neighborhood church had declined in some areas since many of the farmers were going to the village churches. The church and the school were the most important social institutions affecting the Negro, but several neighborhoods had an agricultural community club, home demonstration club, and a 4-H club which had developed into social organizations that took in more than agriculture.

Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas. By T. C. McCormick. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 313, December 1934. **A-65**

Purpose: This bulletin describes the economic and social organizations and participation of rural people in these organizations in south-central Arkansas.

The area covered by this study was a strip 10 to 20 miles wide including parts of six counties in south-central Arkansas. The land is undulating to swampy. There are many forests, mostly soft yellow pine. The main industry is farming,

with some lumbering. The average size farm is 70 acres, with cotton and corn as the chief crops. The population is distributed 20 persons per square mile; 65 percent of the population were white. There were five incorporated towns in the area, all of them agricultural trade centers except for Pine Bluff, a city of 20,760. There were also several unincorporated villages.

Composition and Characteristics of the Population

The farm population of the area appears to be economically below the State average, but the proportion of farm ownership is much greater. There are fewer young people under 15 and more people over 55 than the proportion for the State. There are more men than women, and the size of the average household is larger than the State average. 75 percent of the farm operators were born in Arkansas. Two out of every five farm families had automobiles or trucks.

Participation in Economic Activities

"More of the farm families habitually did their buying in larger centers, or 'cities' than at smaller centers in 'villages' and very few traded at open country stores. Only 7 percent of the families did some selling through farmers' cooperative marketing associations. For every farm family that did any banking in a village there were two who banked in the 'city.'"

Religious Activities

Over 90 percent of the farm families surveyed had some member or members of the family attending religious meetings of some kind during a 12 month period. Over 90 percent of the religious interests of the people were centered in churches in the open country and small villages. No other activity was quite so confined to the rural hinterland as was religion. "Although a great majority of the families attended church in the open-country and small villages, the churches in those places had the lowest average attendance and the fewest number of meetings per year."

Educational Activities

Of the families surveyed, over 50 percent had children in elementary or high school and a little over one percent had children in college. "Most of the children attended elementary schools of the one and two-room type in the open-country, but about half of those in high school attended village schools."

Social Activities

The social contacts of the farm families were confined to the open country and the small villages to a greater extent than any other activity except the religious, to which the social activities were closely allied. 75 percent of the farm families shared in some social activity, the most common of which in order of the families reached by each were (1) the school, (2) the church, (3) the agricultural extension service, and (4) lodges, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, etc.

Recreational Activities

For such activities as motion pictures, attending games, musical events, circuses, etc., the country people had to go to the larger village or city in the majority of cases.

Health Services

Some member or members of 78 percent of the farm families had received attention of a physician, dentist, hospital, county nurse, or county physician during a 12 month period. The families lived an average distance of over eight miles from the centers where medical attention was obtained.

The number of individual attendances at religious, social, and recreational affairs was compared between the families of farm owners, farm tenants, and farm laborers, taking 100 as the pro rata attendance of each group. The indices for the three types of activities combined were: owners 101, tenants 103, laborers 51. Tenants participated in religious events more than the other two classes, while owners participated more in social and recreational activities.

Automobile ownership was associated with greatly increased participation in social and recreational events and in increased participation in activities in cities.

Locating Neighborhoods and Communities in Red River Parish, Louisiana. By Ralph R. Nichols. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating with Louisiana State Extension Service. April 1941. Pp. 28. (Mimeographed) **A-66**

Purpose: The primary purpose of this survey was to delineate and describe community and neighborhood areas in the parish for use in organizing representative planning committees.

A parish in Louisiana is comparable to a county in other Southern states. The Red River Parish had been originally settled about 1840. Discovery of oil in 1913 greatly increased population growth during that period. Its 1930 population was 16,678; 1937 population, 14,642; and 1940 population, 15,859. In 1930, 47.5 percent of the parish population were Negroes.

Farming, oil and lumber furnished the principal income in 1935. The 2,972 farms of the parish occupied over 63 percent of the land. The Red River divides the parish into two greatly differing areas. The land to the east of the river is gentle and rolling hill land with small farms raising cotton and corn and having subsistence farming. Most of the population here are white. Many neighborhoods have been formed around churches, schools, and stores. Better highways in this area are promoting neighborhood disintegration. The land to the west of the Red River is bottomland, with cotton plantations of 8,000 to 12,000 acres predominating. Operations are highly mechanical. Negroes compose 90 percent of the population and do all the hard labor. The neighborhood structure is different from the rest of the parish with each neighborhood usually consisting of three to six white families and 150 to 250 Negro families. The stores are really plantation commissaries, the schools are administered by white officials, and the interest and cooperation normally found in Negro neighborhoods elsewhere is lacking. The churches only operate occasionally because of the poor financial status of the area. There is a definite lack of a sense of belonging to anything other than the headquarters of the plantation owner. The small number of white families prevents them from developing any real local neighborhood associations.

The communities of the parish are:

Hall Summit Community. This community is a trade center for the northern part of the parish. It is isolated from other villages. Because of gravel roads and no railroad facilities, its services are inadequate but include much organizational activity such as Parent-Teacher's associations, a community club, Masons, etc. Agricultural services for ginning and marketing cotton are available. The percentage of tenancy is not high; the Negro population is about 25 percent. Pulpwood provides supplementary income for many of the Negroes. The two open neighborhoods attached to this community each have as their integrating factor an old established Baptist Church. They are tied into the village by trade, school attendance, and a good road.

Methvin Community. This area can be considered a community chiefly because of its excellent school plant. It is dependent on the Hall Summit Community for medical care, the ginning of cotton, and for some trade facilities. Kinship ties, home demonstration clubs, and a community club help to develop a sense of community pride. There are 250 families.

Martin Community takes in almost the entire east-central part of the parish. The school system is the big factor molding this community. The churches are well attended but trade facilities are poor. Some sawmills help provide a small amount of employment. Its four open-country neighborhoods belong to the community because of school attendance but "show a pronounced lack of loyalty in other respects." The church is a center of activities for three of these neighborhoods.

East Point Community. Except for one neighborhood, the area of this community lies on the Red River Bottom. The farming is of the small plantation type. There are about 150 families of which only 20 are white. There is a railroad station, post office, three stores, and a cotton gin to make up the trade center. The school is adequate. The Methodist Church has monthly meetings. The Negroes have an elementary school and their own church is in the main village. The open-country neighborhoods are only slightly dependent on the village except for school attendance.

Hanna Community is in the heart of the plantation area and on the paved road and railroad bisecting that area. There are 22 white families and about 200 Negro families. There is a Baptist Church, a Parent-Teacher's association, and a home demonstration club for the white population and several churches for Negroes. The community is tied economically with the parish seat.

Harmon-Grand Bayou Community. This plantation area has a 95 percent Negro population and plantations with as much as 8,000 to 12,000 acres of land. The six neighborhoods each have but three to six white families who depend on the community center for educational and religious facilities.

In addition to the above, there are other communities and neighborhoods which follow a similar pattern depending on location in hill or river bottom land.

CENTRAL OKLAHOMA-KANSAS:

Community and Neighborhood Areas, Lincoln County, Oklahoma. By Ralph L. Nichols and John S. Page. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in cooperation with Oklahoma Joint Land Grant College—B.A.E. Committee, May 1941. Pp. 22. **A-67**

Purpose: This study was made to assist in setting up land-use planning committees in the county. It is a factual description of communities and neighborhoods.

Lincoln County has 959 square miles of land, much of which is eroded. There are abandoned railroad lines indicative of the county's declining agriculture. An oil boom accentuated the decline of the county when the boom failed. Tenancy and mobility rates are high. The roads generally are bad, and the tax rates burdensome. The county has been settled for about 50 years and its natural community and neighborhood lines are constantly changing.

Wellston Community. The land in this community is above average for the county. The village of 650 has practically all the services usual to a village of this size. There are four churches, a consolidated school, and many clubs and lodges. The relationship between farm and village population seems to be good and the community appears to be well interrelated socially. The community has four neighborhoods within its orbit, only one of which is open-country. This neighborhood is populated mostly by people of German descent, whose activities center around a Lutheran Church. The other residents use the elementary school as their social center.

Meeker Community. This community is on a paved highway. The village has 600 inhabitants, four churches, a consolidated high school. It is 14 miles from the county seat and 14 miles from a city of 25,000, located in an adjoining county. Its chief economic relations are with the city. One of the chief integrating factors in its life is a community-wide interest in athletics, particularly baseball.

Prague Community. It is the most productive and progressive community in the county. It had the greatest percentage gain in population of any community in the county between 1930-1940. The community furnishes such services as three cotton gins, a cotton oil mill, dentists, doctors, and a hospital, although its 1940 population was only 1,470 for the main village. It has the highest percentage of farm ownership. There are frequent fairs, festivals, sale days, etc., to bring in the farm population. Most of the population are of Bohemian ancestry. The community has six neighborhoods.

Stroud Community. Its center village has 1,900 inhabitants. There is a large and active consolidated school and seven churches (five with resident ministers). The village is definitely a trade center for the surrounding area.

Davenport Community. The main village is on a highway. There were seven churches in this village of 1,000 (with two having resident ministers and full-time services). The school is the social center of the village. There are several stores, a cotton gin, and a doctor. In spite of pressure from other communities, the village manages to maintain trade in the community.

Kendrick Community. This village of 300 is the center of a good trade territory. Its farm population is closely tied to it through schools, churches and other organizations.

Chandler Community. The county seat and largest village of the county is located in this community. It is centrally located, has two highways and a railroad. Its prosperity depends on trade but it is receiving competition from the large cities and more aggressive, although smaller, rural communities. It has very adequate facilities for a town of 2,700 people. There are five neighborhoods dependent on the village to make up the boundaries of this community. The church is usually the central force in the open-country neighborhoods around Chandler.

In addition to the communities already listed, the county has six other communities, all of them rural.

SOUTHERN LOUISIANA:

- A-68** *Socio-Economic Survey of the Marshdwellers of Four Southeastern Louisiana Parishes.* By Edward J. Kammer. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press. The Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology, Volume III, 1941. Pp. 177.

Purpose: The study describes the social, physical, and economic environment of the inhabitants of four Louisiana parishes.

This survey, made as a doctoral dissertation, deals with the marshdwellers of Jefferson, La Fourche, Plaquemines, and St. Bernard parishes in southeastern Louisiana.

All four parishes had population increases between 1930 and 1940, but two had a higher rate of increase due to the influx of oil workers into the area during the decade. All of the parishes were located in delta country.

In one parish, the populace, with the exception of the oyster fishermen, live only along the banks of the river. In the other parishes, the marshdwellers live along the narrow strip of high ground that is the natural levee of the bayous. Practically every dwelling is on a bayou or on the shore of a lake or bay. The houses are almost as close together as those in a city.

The young people of this area marry early. Since housing is rather scarce, the man literally has to build his own home, usually a dwelling with two rooms and a kitchen. Wells are not practical, so rain water is used. Almost every home has a radio—a real need—to get storm warnings during the hurricane season. All homes have a porch.

Early marriage is permitted by the economic setup, as every able bodied youth of 16 to 18 can earn as any older man trapping and fishing. Families are relatively large, averaging 4.5 children to a family. Less than one percent of the 500 families included in the survey did not have any children. Visiting is such an integral part of community life that children are always taken to dances and parties. It is strictly a man's world. He makes all the contacts with the outside world, does the bargaining for the sale of his shrimps, furs, etc., while the women stay at home, since there are few jobs available in restaurants or canneries.

The family is dependent on stores or peddlers for food. Kitchen gardens cannot be cultivated because of the low land and heavy rainfall. This prevents

the raising of chickens in any number, while landholdings are usually too small to provide pasture for a cow. Thus the parish wife is not like the average farm woman. She must know how to buy. Cooking is made an art. Homes are clean even in the poorest dwellings. Even the men know how to cook since they have to do so when on long fishing trips.

The family is a closely-knit economic unit. This is best illustrated during the trapping season when the entire family leaves home to spend the time at a camp far away in the marshes. The men and boys set traps, while the women and girls skin the animals, keep the camp clean, and prepare the meals. Another indication of the self-sufficiency of the family is shown by the fact that only 171 aged people were receiving public assistance out of a total population in the four parishes of over 100,000. Variations from this general pattern were found among the Slavonian oyster fishermen living on Grand Isle.

Ninety percent of the marshdwellers are Catholic, at least nominally. Every locality has church services at least once a week but attendance varies from place to place. A common characteristic is that the men consider religion something for women and children. A religious ceremony that is now universal throughout the fishing area is the annual blessing of the fishing fleets in August. Many superstitions are prevalent among the marshdwellers. Divorce is rare.

Louisiana has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the United States, and the four parishes all had a higher percentage than that for the State. The principal causes of illiteracy were lack of teachers who did not like the isolation of these areas and language difficulties, since the children speak French and Spanish at home where English is often like a foreign language. There were 26 elementary schools with 3,662 pupils in the marsh area. Free bus transportation and free textbooks and supplies were furnished. Attitudes toward education varied according to locality.

Dancing is the most popular form of recreation. There are plenty of dance halls and every restaurant and tavern has a nickelodeon. Movies come next in popularity. There is an occasional tent show and carnival. Christmas and Easter are the two most celebrated holidays. Active participation in sports is not very general but it is increasing. Card playing and gambling are very common. All stores have slot machines. The biggest treat for a family is a trip to New Orleans.

Presidential elections do not mean a great deal to the people in this area. Federal employees are often viewed with suspicion because so many of their duties are of a restrictive nature. State and parish elections arouse great interest.

Changes in all aspects of social life are occurring in the parishes due to the influx of outsiders brought in by the oil boom. It has resulted in loosening the family and the church from their old positions.

Louisiana is the most important producer of raw furs in the United States. Fur trapping is an important source of revenue for the marshdwellers. The average trapper in 1939-1940 made between \$630 to \$720 from this source. Shrimps, crabs, and oysters are the chief sources of income for the fishermen of the four parishes. Income from trawling because of the heavy expense gives the fishermen a bare living. Catching crabs between the shrimp and the fur seasons adds to the income. Oysters require more specialized attention since they must be cultivated.

The general health of the people is good. There is a lack of fresh vegetables, fresh milk, and fresh fruits except figs. Most localities have a physician available.

Serious hospitalization must be cared for in New Orleans. "Herb doctors" are prevalent.

An interesting sidelight of this survey was that as farmland gave way to the marshes, the number of Negroes dwindled to almost nothing. Few Negroes could be found who were engaged in fishing and trapping as the sole means of livelihood.

A-69 "Notes on the Social Organization of a French Village in South Louisiana." By Vernon J. Parenton. *Social Forces*, Vol. 17, October 1938. Pp. 73-82.

Purpose: This article describes the social characteristics of French-speaking people along the Bayou Lafourche, in the Parish of Assumption, Louisiana, particularly in the settlement of Plattenville.

Of the 60 families in the village, 49 claim French descent, 7 Spanish, 1 Welsh, 2 German, and 1 Scotch-Irish. French is used more than any other language, but all families except one also use English. There are no Negroes, which is fairly typical of a pattern of segregation of the races into different communities among the small-farming settlements of Louisiana.

Economic Status

Agriculture, particularly the cultivation of sugar cane, is the principal occupation. Sugar cane dominates the social and economic life of these people. The chief topic of conversation deals with sugar cane. Tenancy is not very prevalent with the daily wage type of labor predominating. Workers who are not farmers are usually employed in some capacity at nearby sugar mills. During 1920-1930, many of the inhabitants of this area moved to New Orleans due to depressed conditions at home.

Social Status

Most of the people own their homes. The church owns considerable land which it rents. Three grocery stores provide general merchandise. Much merchandise, such as meats, ice, vegetables, fruits, are secured from peddlers, who are always available in the rather densely populated area. There is a doctor, who works on an annual fee basis in accordance with an old French custom. All houses have front porches, which serve as the main point for all social activities and as a playhouse for children. Every home has several religious objects. "Everyone is intimately acquainted with his neighbors, if not his neighbor's affairs." There are strong family ties, and about half the families are related in some way.

Only a grammar school education through the seventh grade is available in the village. The high school is in the parish seat. Free school bus service is furnished.

The Catholic church is the nucleus of the community. Practically the entire community goes to Sunday services. The Church provides religious instructions to children between 6 and 12, each week. There is an annual church fair for the benefit of the church, which usually nets \$600 to \$1,000.

Recreation

Dancing is the most popular recreational activity. Dances are usually held on Saturday and Sunday nights. Movies, baseball, picnics, swimming, hunting and gaming are other popular recreational activities.

"The homogeneity of descent, language and religion creates a high degree of solidarity in the village."

CENTRAL TEXAS-OKLAHOMA:

A Rural Community in Wartime, Roby, Texas. By Herbert Pryor and Theo L. Vaughan. Little Rock, Arkansas: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, June 1945. Pp. 33. (Mimeographed) **A-70**

Purpose: This report is one of a series of twelve studies of the effect of World War II on selected rural communities.

The Roby community is in Fisher County, on the plains of west-central Texas. Cotton, livestock, and small grains such as milo maize constitute the pattern of farming. The village center of Roby is also the county seat and was established about 1885. It is the trade and government center of the community with its stores, school, churches, and county, state, and federal offices. The community itself includes an area of about 120 square miles and is located almost in the center of the county. The village plus nine open-country neighborhoods, linked wholly or in part with the village center, make up the community. There is no longer rail transportation in the community but two paved highways and a system of farm-to-market roads provide adequate transportation facilities. Because of the good roads, the village has lost some of its trade to other towns.

The population of the community in 1940 was 2,700 and in 1944 it was 2,200, an 18.5 percent reduction due to migration from the open-country neighborhoods to war jobs elsewhere and to recruitment of men into the armed forces. The draft brought a drastic reduction in the proportion of males in the 20-29 age group and the average size of families was reduced from 4.2 in 1940 to 3.8 in 1944. Available farm labor was increasingly scarce, although prior to the war about half of the farms were operated by tenants, and the mobility was low before 1941. Only ten of the families in the community were Negro, and Mexicans were generally transient workers. In 1930 there were 50 Negro families in the community.

The war increased cooperation among all groups. There was more pooling of labor and machinery and increased participation in community programs related to the war effort. Farmers visited each other more frequently but for shorter periods of time, and class consciousness between farm operator, farm tenant, and farm laborer groups was not so obvious.

The schools had a smaller enrollment because of migration from the community. The community has a consolidated school which had 475 students in 1943-44. All open-country schools in the community were closed in recent years. Negroes had a one-room, one-teacher school (with ten pupils in 1943-44) whose classes went through the eighth grade and which was located in the Negro church at Roby.

In 1944, there were seven churches in the community. Migration lessened membership somewhat, particularly in the country. One country church closed in 1943 because of lack of support and due to migration from the neighborhood. Over 80 percent of the church members in the community belong to the three village churches. However, the country churches, although weak, are still the strongest focal points for holding neighborhoods together since the country

schools were closed. Church attendance has been maintained to a considerable extent despite the decrease in membership. Financial support has increased somewhat.

The few formal organizations in the community, such as the Lion's Club, the Boy Scouts, and the Business and Professional Women's Club, re-shaped their programs to fit the war pattern. The village stores continued to be the chief shopping center for groceries and feed, but clothing, hardware, and machinery were purchased elsewhere as people had done before the war. One doctor was located in the community, but no clinic or hospital services were available locally.

Community leadership has been conservative and dependent on the "old" families, but the war gave opportunity for more progressive and aggressive leadership to appear.

SOUTHERN GREAT PLAINS:

- A-71** *Relation of Town and Country Interests in Garfield County, Oklahoma.* By James Franklin Page. Stillwater: Oklahoma A. & M. College, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 194, January 1930. Pp. 47.

Purpose: The study shows the cultural and economic interrelationships of an urban area and the rural district surrounding.

Garfield county is in north-central Oklahoma. 92 percent of its area is in farms, with wheat and the raising of livestock predominating. Discovery of oil in 1917 has led to the development of the oil industry and the growth of certain areas in the county. Of the 16 population centers in the county, all except one had less than 2,500 population in 1928. The exception was Enid, the county seat, which has grown from 3,444 in 1900 to 32,000 in 1928, whereas the other population centers have remained relatively stationary. The population of the county in 1900 was 22,076 and in 1920 it was 37,500.

A majority of the farmers, both owners and tenants, have automobiles and highway facilities are good. Since Enid is only 35 miles from any point in the county, it is attracting more and more trade. The survey showed that the larger the population center in Garfield county, the greater is the tendency for the farmers adjacent to it to purchase selected types of goods exclusively at this center. The smaller the population center, the greater was the tendency of the farmers to do their purchasing elsewhere. Cooperative marketing of farm products is an increasingly significant enterprise. The larger the population center, the greater was the tendency for the farmers to market their produce, live chickens and eggs, in this center. Enid has a farm women's market representing 150 farm families. Every population center had one or more banks. There was a larger percentage of farmers' accounts in smaller centers than in the larger ones.

The average enrollment per school district of the common schools in the county is slightly less than 25. Of the county's 105 common school districts, 7 were rated at the top of their group in 1927-28 compared to the state average. All library facilities are centered at Enid. In Enid there is one church for every 1,000 population, and in the rest of the population centers a church also existed for every 1,000 people. The church has more members than any other community organization. However, most of the churches are concentrated in the local, small communities rather than in the open country.

Appendix B

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DIGESTS
OF
SOUTHERN URBAN COMMUNITY STUDIES

Prepared by

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DIGESTS OF SOUTHERN URBAN COMMUNITY STUDIES

Anderson: After the War. By G. H. Aull, and J. M. Stepp. Anderson, South Carolina: The Chamber of Commerce, 1945. Pp. 46. **B-1**

Theme or purpose: Fact finding to help business men and public officials plan post-war employment-producing activities.

This report to the Chamber of Commerce Post-War Planning Committee was made by experts in agricultural economics and rural sociology, in cooperation with Clemson College, civic clubs, women's civilian defense organization, Negro teachers, extension workers, soil conservationists and others.

Greater Anderson,* county seat and textile mill center in an agricultural area, has one-third of the population of the county. Including suburbs and mill villages, it has 28,000 people and is South Carolina's fifth city in size.

The employment situation, the post-war business outlook, and post-war opportunities are the main heads.

Economic: In 1940 there were 11,100 employed residents and 1,350 unemployed or on emergency public work, making 12,450 employable. In 1943 only 10,700 were employed but it is estimated that 13,840 will be available for work in the year after demobilization. In 1943 almost 50 percent of the males and 60 percent females were textile workers. A survey of employment opportunities included industrial, mercantile, and service establishments, domestic service, and public employment.

In 1943 nearly two-thirds of the 1930 Negro families had an income of under \$1,000; over one-half the white families had over \$2,000. This suggested to the authors the probable need of considerable credit to Negroes, with the possibility of a revival of installment buying "to stimulate trade." The large amount spent for government bonds is seen as "a backlog of purchasing power for seeing consumers and business men safely through the reconversion period." A survey of planned purchases was made, to help estimate the amount and kinds of postwar consumer demand. The suggestion is made to provide "more productive work and higher incomes for Negroes" to increase their purchasing power.

Recreation: in a survey of public improvements desired by citizens a large proportion pertained to better recreation facilities, to include parks, an auditorium, community building, youth projects; Negroes wanted a library, a community center, and recreation facilities.

A Report on Health and Welfare in DeKalb and Fulton Counties. By M. Ruth Butler, Director of Research, and Mildred Mell, Chairman of Research Committee. Atlanta: Social Planning Council, 1943. Pp. 396. **B-2**

Theme or purpose: To analyze social and economic factors bearing on health and welfare programs for Atlanta.

This study in two parts deals mainly with Atlanta. Part I gives the regional background, population and governmental characteristics; Part II emphasizes

*Population of incorporated Anderson: 14,383 in 1930; 19,424 in 1940. (1940: Negroes 6,017 or 31.0 percent.)

programs to serve needs of health, finance, social adjustment, and recreation. The data, not collected specifically for this study, are from already existing studies, reports, census publications, etc.

Metropolitan Atlanta is the densely settled part of these counties. Its population in 1940 was 442,294.* It is a financial, communication, transportation, and manufacturing center, the recipient of much migration from rural areas.

Economic: Atlanta pays better wages than the surrounding region, and "in terms of income for its major employment groups, is definitely better off than most of the large cities of the Southeast." The city ranks first in bank clearings, among southern states; is the financial capital of the region; it is the third telegraph center in the world; is first in the nation in railway express shipments, and is a focal point for truck transportation. "Atlanta's economic position is also indicated by its retail sales, \$172,279,000 in 1939," first among 9 major southeastern cities. Since Atlanta is a transportation center an unusually large proportion of its workers have white-collar, clerical jobs. In 1935-6 one-half of all families had a yearly income of less than \$1,028, half the Negro families had less than \$476, and 95.4 percent of Negro families had less than \$1,500. Though the birthrate is falling there is in Atlanta a comparatively large number of young dependents which adds economic strain not only for families but for public child care facilities and schools.

Education: Atlanta faces a need for more education and specific types of training to overcome "lags in the mental patterns" of people recently come from a less complex, less competitive rural life. While residents of Atlanta have more schooling than the rest of Georgia, figures show that over one percent of the whites and over 7 percent of the Negroes have spent under one year in school (in 1940) and 9.8 percent whites and 48.8 percent Negroes (over 25 years of age) have less than 5 years of schooling, which not only limits their occupational fitness but stands in the way of adult vocational training, which presupposes basic education. Thus there is a "considerable group handicapped by lack of adequate education (for) . . . full and free participation in democratic processes," which in turn lays an undue burden on health and welfare facilities.

In comparison with the whole South Atlantic area Atlanta has a high crime rate, which the authors suggest may have some relation to illiteracy and poor education. Under Conclusions, it is recommended that, as a part of a crime prevention program there should be an "educational and vocational training program sufficient at least to eliminate illiteracy and to give trade or agricultural training to promising young offenders." A Children's Bureau study of Child Welfare Services in Atlanta in 1935 recommended a program to prevent juvenile delinquency, to include visiting teachers, a child guidance service, "augmented by a special program . . . where public and private agencies, the schools, the churches, civic organizations, should coordinate their activities in order to overcome environmental conditions in the areas which tend to increase delinquency."

Recreation: The "fundamental problem is the lack of opportunities for informal education and recreation." Some types of recreation agencies in Atlanta are parks and playgrounds; Boy and Girl Scouts; Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.; Salvation Army and Wesley Community House; Jewish Educational Alliance and

*Population of incorporated Atlanta: 270,366 in 1930; 302,288 in 1940.

Atlanta's Negro Boys' Club. In a study of 15 agencies 6 reported that their program was essentially religious; 8 that their program was recreational; 2 that their theme was informal education. Of the 16 agencies 4 said their programs were activity-centered, 12 that they were relationship-centered.

The 16 agencies spent \$290,772 for 1940, with a per member figure ranging from \$26.23 at the Wesley Community House and \$20.29 at the Jewish Educational Alliance to \$3.89 at the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. and \$5.04 for the Boy Scouts. White persons benefited from 80.6 percent of the money spent for recreation; Negroes, 19.4 percent. (Negroes in metropolitan Atlanta make up 29.3 percent of the population.)

Recommendations are made for a metropolitan planning project to include all public and private agencies, for better service and economy. "This study clearly revealed that we need not only an expansion of informal education and recreation programs and facilities in Atlanta, but also a much higher degree of correlation."

Father-Son Occupations Among Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. Works Progress Administration of Georgia. Project No. 165-34-6069, 1937. Pp. 103. **B-3**

Theme or purpose: To study occupational mobility of Negro workers.

This study, using a random sample of 1,000, has special reference to the socio-economic scale of desirable occupations. It supplements the W.P.A. survey entitled "Occupational Characteristics of Negro White-collar and Skilled Workers of Atlanta, Georgia."

Nearly half of the fathers were farmers; 17 percent were skilled workmen; 12 percent were common laborers; 14 percent were white-collar other than farmers; 12 percent were semi-skilled; and only 3 percent were servants.

Three-fourths of the sons did not follow their fathers' occupation, and one-fourth did. The general social background of the two groups of sons is much the same: 92 percent were born in the South Atlantic region, most of them in Georgia. The group who did not follow their fathers showed more geographic mobility than those who did, perhaps because the great majority of their fathers were farmers. Experience seemed to be the most important factor in training for both groups, apprenticeship also being important to those who followed their fathers. Both groups have a median educational achievement of 8 grades. Education was more important to the son who followed. In occupation the son who followed his father was usually a skilled worker and his income is not as great as the average income of the son who did not follow his father and who is usually in the white-collar class. The occupational movement of the sons who followed their fathers has been horizontal within the same general type of occupation; whereas the movement of the non-following sons has been toward occupation ranked higher on the socio-economic scale, in the proprietary, managerial, and clerical fields. Among this latter group there seems to be a spreading out into new occupations, which along with their increasing income is a hopeful sign for the Negro in Atlanta.

B-4 Occupational Characteristics of Negro White-Collar and Skilled Workers of Atlanta, Georgia. Works Progress Administration of Georgia. Project No. 165-34-6069, 1937. Pp. 110.

Theme or purpose: To discover background training and occupational experience of the white-collar and skilled Negro worker.

This statistical survey used a sample group of 4,082 Negro workers who were either working as white-collar or skilled workers or trained to be such.

Atlanta was chosen because of its generally representative urban character: 33 percent of its population are Negroes; it has four Negro colleges; it affords a good sample of Negro urban occupational conditions.

In the three occupational groups considered—the white-collar workers, the skilled workers, the semi-skilled and unskilled workers—the males are in larger proportions.

Background: The age ranged from 20 to 45 with the median being 38 years. The median age of the females alone was six years lower, showing that marriage takes older women out of the labor force. The white-collar group is younger than the other groups, seeming to indicate an increasing trend among younger people toward white-collar jobs. The study shows no appreciable age differences or social differences between the employed group and the unemployed. White-collared unemployed tend to be younger. Georgia contributes 84 percent of Atlanta's workers, half of whom are from small towns and rural sections. More than half of Atlanta's Negro workers were born in urban areas however; particularly urban are the white-collar group.

Of the 4,082 workers, 65 percent are married; fewer among the white-collar class, perhaps because it is the younger group.

Education: This averaged 10.5 years in school. In the white-collar group it was 12.2 grades. Females show four years more basic schooling than the males in the skilled and unskilled labor group. The higher the age group the less basic schooling. In spite of the four Negro colleges in Atlanta, only one-fourth of the group (all of which had white-collar or skilled occupational rating) had gone beyond the secondary level.

A study of the economic status of the fathers revealed them to be in the lower occupational brackets. (See "Father-Son Occupations Among Negroes in Atlanta"—Supplementary Study).

Social and Occupational Characteristics: In a question about the occupation for which they were best trained, approximately 90 percent were found to be best trained for white-collar and skilled jobs. Experience seems to be the most significant method of training for all workers, although more of the younger workers were trained by formal education, especially the white-collar workers. (Because of conditions in 1936, white-collar and skilled workers were accepting jobs in lower occupational brackets than they had trained for).

The average income of the workers in Atlanta was \$60.00 a month with professional workers showing the highest income (\$72.00) and skilled workers next (\$63.00).

More skilled workers tend to follow their fathers' occupation, whereas white-collar workers are more apt to follow another occupation than the father's but in the same social category. In the unskilled group, about two-thirds of the workers shifted to an occupation of higher ranking.

Of the workers who received relief, the general characteristics were the same as those who did not. It seems that there was a shift in the type receiving relief from 1932 to 1935. In 1932, it was the oldest, poorest trained person who worked 15 years at his job, but in 1935 it was the younger, better-trained worker.

The general movement of the younger Negro workers is headed toward the white-collar occupations, and away from the skilled because of the changed attitude toward Negroes doing skilled work. There is also a definite trend toward more formal schooling although experience is still the method most used in securing basic training for the occupation, suggesting the need for a more specific tie-up between school and industry. Other needs indicated by the study are more basic training; a greater effort to reach Negroes in the local public employment agencies; and a branching out into other occupations through vocational guidance.

Population Mobility: A Study of Family Movements Affecting Augusta, Georgia (1899-1939).^{*} Federal Works Agency, W.P.A. of Georgia, Official Report. No. 165-1-34-53, 1942. Pp. 84. **B-5**

Theme or purpose: To show certain population movements and land-use trends that should help Augusta, Georgia, to plan more intelligently.

During the period from 1914 to 1939, the suburban trend in Augusta, Georgia, is evident in the fact that the proportion of the population living in the downtown area decreased 27 percent and the Hill (suburban) section increased 500 percent. People from both downtown area and the Hill district moved to the surrounding country districts showing the competition of new and old neighborhoods.

The median home occupancy time is 2 years 10 months. Home owners occupy dwellings 4 times as long as renters. Whites stay longer than Negroes. The chief reasons for moving are (1) to get more suitable dwelling or (2) to live in a different neighborhood environment. The first reason usually leads to movement within the same census tract; the second reason, to movement to another tract (migration).

Factors influencing migration are commercial encroachment; attempts to raise social position; geographical conditions which influence the direction of movement.

The effects of movements are: Exodus of higher income families to the suburbs affects the financial status of the city. It also decreases property values.

There has been racial succession in some districts as when Negroes occupy an area formerly of Irish. This racial succession has tended to be complete; now, only 0.4 percent of the blocks are of mixed peoples.

The effect on the three Catholic churches has been significant. The two downtown ones decreased 45 percent and 60 percent respectively; whereas the suburban parish increased 2,100 percent.

^{*}Population of Augusta: 60,342 in 1930; 65,919 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Augusta: 77,431 in 1930; 87,809 in 1940.

- B-6** *City Manager Government in Austin, Texas.* By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 14, 1939. Pp. 93.

Theme or purpose: To appraise city manager government and to compare its results with preceding forms of government.

Austin* is the capital, the seat of the state university, and a trade center with very little industry (7 percent of the city's payroll as against 54 percent for schools and public service).

It is spacious, uncrowded, with few apartments; 85 percent of the people live in separate, frame dwellings.† Population is homogeneous, largely British-American descent, with 18 percent Negroes, and 9.5 percent Mexicans. Town, gown, and Capitol are interdependent and friendly.

Austin's governments have been mayor-council, 49 years; commission, 17 years; city manager since 1926. Citizens, at the time of study, accepted the city manager form of government without question and approved the administration.

The demand for a city manager was made because of inefficiency and the fact that the combination of legislative and executive functions in one body caused strife and "did not respond to the demand for more and better services from a growing community of high standards of living." The city government is thought of by citizens as an agency for making the community a suitable home for the capital and the university, as well as "a residential city of high character."

This attitude created an increase in power and prestige of the government, a new pride in public service. A new city plan was put into effect, financed by P.W.A. funds and a local bond issue, with charter amendments to provide legal machinery, particularly for utilities and zoning, recreation and an airport, library, auditorium, market, and abattoir.

The new concept of government also led to greater and different participation by citizens; leading men were drafted to serve on the council, without pay. Professors were called on for advice on technical points in their fields. Nearly all organizations were called on for advice or active help.

The recreation department developed a park for Mexicans exclusively. A Negro director with a Negro advisory committee administer a park for Negroes. There are church and industrial leagues for various sports. A mothers' club advises the 13 playgrounds; civic clubs cooperate in promoting pageants, drama, dancing. Community centers are focal points for neighborhood life. The library is guided officially by a 15-man committee of leaders in intellectual and cultural development, aided by a citizens' committee to develop specific activities, such as story hours for children, vacation reading clubs, special programs and exhibits.

Conclusion; the city manager plan, advised by the campus and brought about by business men, has increased the services, power, and prestige of city government in Austin. Skeptical middle class groups, formerly in political power, were converted by increase of their political power on a different plane.

*Population of Austin: 53,120 in 1930; 87,930 in 1940.

†Digester's note: While Austin's housing conditions in 1940 were considerably better than most southern cities as regards the need for major repairs, its room overcrowding was decidedly unfavorable with 14.7 percent of its occupied dwellings having 1.51 or more persons per room.

(In addition to the above general picture, there are 64 pages of detailed analysis of interest to students of public administration on such topics as council-manager relationship; growth of municipal services, the manager and his staff, administration practices.)

Population Mobility in Austin, Texas (1929-31). By the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences. Austin: University of Texas, 1941. **B-7**

Theme or purpose: To show for a 3-year period the mobility of urban population.

This study utilized city directories which covered only a portion of the population. Ethnic, occupational, and intra-city mobility features predominate.

In 1929 Austin* had a population of about 53,000: whites, 77 percent; Negroes, 17 percent; Mexicans, 6 percent. In 1931 the composition was practically the same.

From 1929 to 1931, in the movement of people to the city, Mexicans made the greatest gain, doubling their population. The Negroes gained 36 percent, the whites only 30 percent. The greatest areal gain was in the heterogeneous Negro and Mexican district.

The migration into the city was from the lower social-economic classes generally. The occupational category represented most often by the influx of new citizens was "no employment" which includes housewives. Next in order was "unskilled" labor. The "no employment" group came from the central and Negro area of the city. The movement out of the city was heaviest among Mexicans: unskilled labor showing the greatest out-movement. Proprietors and managers were the most stable groups.

The mobility within a city is perhaps more significant than movement either into or out of a city although in Austin it represented a smaller percentage of mobility. Whites are more given to intra-city moving than are either the Negroes or Mexicans, probably because of the patterns of segregation. The professional group moves around least; the semi-skilled, the most, among the occupied classes. In general, however, there is a higher intra-city mobility among the lower economic group.

Summary Report. Survey of Member Agencies of the Community Fund of Baltimore, Incorporated, and Baltimore Council of Social Agencies. C. Whit Pfeiffer, Director of Survey Staff. Baltimore: Auspices of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1940. Pp. 180. **B-8**

Theme or purpose: A study of the work of the agencies participating in the Community Fund of Baltimore, Maryland.†

Method: Approximately 50 weeks of field work by a staff recruited from 10 different cities, most of whom had intimate knowledge of health and welfare work in leading cities. A schedule was prepared by the Community Fund,

*Population: 53,120 in 1930; 87,930 in 1940.

†Population of Baltimore: 804,874 in 1930; 859,100 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Baltimore: 949,247 in 1930; 1,046,692 in 1940.

dealing with the quality and efficiency of the Fund agencies and other community services.

Contents: Summary of Major Findings; Medical Care Agencies; Family and Child Care Agencies; Informal Education and Recreation Agencies; Coordinating, Planning, and Promotional Agencies.

Economic: The main purpose of this study was to determine whether the Community Fund was justified in raising and spending the money secured from the citizens of the city, a total of about a million dollars in 1938, though this sum was only about one-fifth of the entire bill for health and welfare in Baltimore that year. The gross bill was approximately \$22,000,000 including W.P.A. expenditures, State and Federal aids, hospital incomes. This gave Baltimore a per capita bill of \$24.74 as compared with \$44.01, the average of 29 cities studied.

Educational: Some of the objectives of the recreation program imply out-of-school education "to further a democratic way of living and thinking," to develop a well-rounded personality "through physical, mental, spiritual, and cultural development," to emphasize good citizenship, "to educate for creative leisure."

Religious: Some recreational activities were provided by churches or religious groups, such as St. Paul's Chapter and Guild House which provided gym classes and bowling for community as well as church use; Salvation Army Boys Club; Y.M.C.A., Y.M.H.A., Y.W.C.A.; Catholic Daughters of America; Madison Avenue Synagogue. Boy Scout Troops are sponsored by churches of all denominations. The recommendation is offered that more use be made of churches and schools for meeting purposes for the community. While Community Fund agencies are non-sectarian, a large part of the work done for Catholics and Jews is carried on by Catholic and Jewish agencies. The Salvation Army operates a variety of social services.

Recreational: There is a Municipal Dept. of Recreation with a budget of approximately \$200,000 in 1940. There are several private agencies such as Youth Centers and Neighborhood Centers; and non-equipment groups such as Scouts and Clubs. Participants and private donors pay more for recreation than does the Municipal Department which operates parks and playgrounds and emphasizes sports and physical development where the private agencies stress character-building and creative activities. An objective of the private agencies is "to help strengthen the family unit and to supplement the work of the home, church, and school." Another objective is "to teach respect for people as people, regardless of race, religion, or economic status." Recommendations for improvements in recreation include more services for Negroes by both private and public agencies; more recreation for family groups; more for older people, more camping facilities, especially for Negroes; more recreation for institutional inmates; facilities and leadership for the Housing Projects. Cooperative rather than competitive activities are emphasized.

General recommendations: In the fields of Child Care and Health Services several mergers were suggested not only in the interests of economy but also for more effective service. It was found that while some economies could be made in the present setup, a larger budget is needed to provide Baltimore citizens with better services.

The Baltimore Police Survey.* By Bruce Smith. New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1941. Pp. 155. **B-9**

Theme or purpose: To review police activities as basic to a longterm program of improvement of personnel and equipment.

Police service is analyzed as to quantity and quality; cost, qualifications of personnel, training, discipline, promotion, benefits.

Structural organization is reviewed for defects, with a proposed reorganization plan.

Other subjects: criminal investigation, traffic regulation, uniformed patrol, crime prevention, police physicians, crime reporting, and property management.

The conclusion was that the need was not for more police but for better distribution (some departments actually being overmanned), freedom from (partisan) legislative tinkering, housecleaning in the office of police commissioner.

Social and Economic Survey of the Birmingham District for 1940.† By Duncan Nolan, Director of the Survey. Sponsored by the Housing Authority of Birmingham District, 1943. Pp. 72. **B-10**

Theme or purpose: As a basis for planning for Birmingham's welfare.

This study was begun as a W.P.A. project and was completed by the O.C.D. and the Housing Authority.

Main problems were found to be; economic need, behavior and social adjustment, health, need for recreation. As many as two-thirds of the families had one or more of these needs. Services of huge volume and variety were offered at great cost. Problem rates differ for white and non-white and between different areas. Substandard housing is a factor in 40 percent of every district but one, that is, bad housing is spread out, not concentrated. The four districts of worst housing have the most problem families. There is large reliance on federally financed agencies for meeting problems in an inadequate community program.

Programs are suggested for more adequately meeting the problems listed above. From standpoint of volume of service, churches play a slight part in leisure time or other social needs. Scouts, Y.M.C.A., and Y.M.H.A. play some part but more for white than for colored.

Growth and Plan for a Community: A Study of Negro Life in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina. By Charles M. Freeman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis), 1944. Pp. 218. **B-11**

Theme or purpose: A brief history and plan for future growth.

By observation and by interviews with representatives of both colored and white communities plus many printed sources (reports, records, letters, etc.) the author goes back to the Civil War, but most of his data falls between 1900 and 1944.

*Population of Baltimore: 804,874 in 1930; 859,100 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Baltimore: 949,247 in 1930; 1,046,692 in 1940.

†Population of Birmingham: 259,678 in 1930; 267,583 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Birmingham: 382,792 in 1930; 407,851 in 1940.

Chapel Hill's population: 3,654 of whom 1,124 were Negroes in 1940. It is the site of the State University as well as a trading center for a rural area. Adjoining Carrboro, with a population of 1,455 whites and 437 Negroes in 1940, is a mill village making hosiery before and munitions during the war. The colored population of both towns has been relatively stable except for an influx of workers for the University from the deeper South during the 1920's, most of whom have since left town. Those remaining, some of whom have become respected citizens, are still more or less "outsiders."

Chapter headings deal with location, growth, relation to white community and University, and planning.

Economic conditions: while life for Negroes is better here than in most southern cities, homes and services are still far below those of white citizens. These are comparable, perhaps, to those of the whites in 1920. Conspicuous differences are in street paving, water supply, and sewage disposal; in several Negro sections there are no water mains, fire hydrants, or sewers, and one area has no electricity.

The employment of Negroes is almost wholly dependent upon the University and families of Chapel Hill, pay being somewhat higher for janitors and laundry workers than for domestic service. (Janitors, \$22.00 per week; maids, \$15.00 since 1940 as against \$17.78 and \$7.54 respectively in 1925). Before the depression there was considerable Negro business and property owning: in 1925, 2 theatres, 2 garages, 4 groceries, 3 barber shops, 1 beauty shop, 2 undertaking establishments, 3 restaurants, 2 pressing clubs, 3 contractors, and 1 dentist. Real estate owned by Negroes in 1923 was \$261,309. About 70 percent of Negro men and women carry small-payment, high-rate life insurance; a much smaller number has fire insurance. The Janitors' Association (org. 1929) has been more important socially than economically, though after affiliation with the C.I.O. in 1942 the janitors got a \$2.50 weekly raise and the chance to bargain directly with the University as well as some improvement in working conditions. Vain attempts have been made to interest Negroes in a Credit Union.*

Education: In 1942-3 school enrollment was 392 in elementary and 174 in high school. High School attendance is increasing in proportion to the lower school. The High School has a 1-A rating, with agricultural and home economics courses and shop work. Its location and construction are somewhat unsatisfactory. The Negroes feel that their wishes have been overridden by white votes. In the 1930's the University Y.M.C.A. conducted a night school for Negroes at which regular school credit was given to the adult students. This school grew out of a Sunday School conducted by the Y.M.C.A. The night school in 1938-9 became a part of the county-wide program of Adult Education sponsored by the University Extension Division to reduce illiteracy.

Religion: 3 Methodist, 2 Baptist, 1 Holiness, 1 Church of God, and 2 or 3 miscellaneous small groups give the church total. Larger churches plan repairs and improvements after the war. Membership: A.M.E., 350; C.M.E., 155 with 55 in Sunday School; A.M.E. Zion, 25 with 20 in Sunday School; Rock Hill Baptist, 360 with 200 in Sunday School; Second Baptist (offshoot of Rock Hill in 1937), 70 with 60 in Sunday School and 3 choirs. Rock Hill's Daily Vacation Bible School and several other organizations, the A.M.E.'s other groups

*Digester's note: In the spring of 1946 a county-wide bi-racial Credit Union was organized under initial leadership of Chapel Hill Negroes.

such as missionary organizations, young peoples' societies, along with various choirs and usher boards play a large part in the churches.

Denominational antagonisms have broken down in the last 20 years: In 1938-9 the Negro Ministerial Alliance was active in integrating church programs and meeting community needs. Both Baptist churches are represented on the Usher's Union, a statewide interdenominational organization for promoting liberal religion and dignified worship. Exchange of pastors occurs as well as interchurch meetings. White pastors of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches occasionally preach at the Negro churches and have been active in interracial cooperation.* One of the Baptist choirs has been invited to sing at the white Baptist church several times. Negroes have been included in Watch Night Services in white churches but have not responded fully because of the formality of the service which was planned by the host church. There is an interracial Ministerial Alliance more for the purpose of bringing together all ministers of Chapel Hill and Carrboro on a friendly basis than to talk business. The group was more active at first, although since 1943 there have been monthly luncheon meetings.

Political: Training for citizenship with emphasis on voting has been one of the objectives of the night school yet in 1942 only 77 Chapel Hill and 13 Carrboro Negroes were listed on the registration books. Some white registrars are believed to turn Negroes away on various pretexts though many white citizens encourage the Negro vote. In one instance the Negro Civic Club got out the vote which swung the school election in 1930. Negro dissatisfaction exists about courts and police over discrimination and inadequate protection. Only one instance of overt interracial violence (1937) has occurred in recent years: 1 white and 3 Negroes were hospitalized with bullet wounds. The Negro Civic Club appealed to the Aldermen in 1943 for specific help "to handle or suppress the lawless element of the colored people of Chapel Hill," and some of the needed cooperation was given.

Recreation: Sufficient wholesome recreation is lacking. Most of the menacing commercial offerings are now closed. The movie theatre has a weekly attendance of 1,300 to 1,500. Boy Scouting too often collapses for lack of leadership. Before the war white and Negro citizens cooperated in planning and building (with W.P.A. and Navy assistance) a fine community center in the main Negro neighborhood. A Navy (Negro) band occupied it during the war, Negro citizens willingly postponing its utilization.† One church has sponsored play evenings in summer, and parents join with the school in sponsoring parties.

With the help of government funds two units of nursery day care were started in 1943 for the children of working mothers; capacity, 60 children. (A survey had revealed 131 pre-school children in the Negro community). The nursery will operate in the Community Center after the war.

Health and Welfare: County units in cooperation with University Departments of Public Health and Social Work now largely cover these fields for the Negroes, the community serving somewhat as a laboratory. Clinics, vaccinations, and education are conducted with little expense to Negroes. From October,

*Digester's note: During Holy Week in 1945 and 1946, Negro and white churches have cooperated more fully than ever before.

†Digester's note: In 1946 this Negro Community Center got into full swing with Negro recreation director and committee heading up a promising program. A nursery school is housed there. In the spring an intensive series of vote-registration meetings was held.

1932 to March, 1933, 15 percent of Chapel Hill's population total (48 percent of the Negro population) was on relief with government funds being administered through Public Welfare channels. Until that time relief was given sporadically through individual and charitable-religious channels.

Housing: Surveys have revealed inadequate and unsanitary living conditions with much overcrowding, only slightly alleviated a few small housing projects.

Negro-white relationships: There is less close personal relationship than formerly between individuals of both races. However, there is a growing respect and cooperation between the races with an increasing amount of leadership in the Negro community though some examples to the contrary are given. This is the judgment of the author through observation and study but with no supporting indices. The influx of cheaper labor from lower South states in the 1920's and the coming of the Navy Pre-Flight School in the 1940's have upset the interracial balance. Under Navy influences pay for Negro services greatly increased with some feeling that workers are becoming "uppity." Navy wives paid more, often called their maids "Missus," and provided easier working conditions which seems to have resulted in increased racial tension.

In his plan for a better Negro community the author concludes that conditions have been alleviated by the University-sponsored programs of the last 30 years but that fundamental problems remain. He urges integration of health, welfare, housing, and industrial development. Church programs must take the Community Center into account as well as the school. Suggestions: (1) A "felt need" for citizens' interracial action; (2) Self appraisal by Negroes of their problems and a long range plan as well as step by step goals worked out to unite the community; (3) Negro and Negro-white Councils; machinery for analysis and action; (4) A blueprint for social action: better streets, lighting, sewerage, housing, mail delivery, Credit Union, Cooperative store, health, education, library service, uniting of likeminded churches (4 instead of 7 churches), interracial respect promoted through existing church and civic groups, recreation, Negro policemen, and political representation (Pp. 149-211).

B-12 The Negro Churches of Chapel Hill. By Agnes Brown. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis), 1939. Pp. 122.

Theme or purpose: To study Negro religious organization and church-community relationships.

There are 8 churches serving a relatively small group, The Rock Hill Baptist, the Second Baptist, the A.M.E. Methodist and the C.M.E. Methodist, the Church of God, the A.M.E. Zion, the Russellites and Holiness. In general the Holiness and Russellites are a small minority of the lower class. The Church of God seems to exert the strongest social control over its members. The church has much more of a role than just a religious agency; it is the outlet for self-expression; for recreation, aid-giving, political action, etc.

The social stratification of the white churches is carried over into the Negro ones, but there is much more attempt at social control exerted on the members even of the orthodox Negro churches (Baptist).

The social-outlet function of the churches, though so important, is an unconscious, secondary one. The emphasis is still on preaching. This conservatism

was brought out by their lack of response in the first stages of the building of the Negro community center.

The church organizations with their many officers give the Negro almost his only political arena; there is therefore much interest in church elections. The churches seem most inactive in bringing education to their congregations.

The existence of so many Negro churches means a financial burden because a great deal of Negro money is concentrated there. Leadership of the people and the greatest proportion of the population center also in the churches. The greatest weakness seems to be the social-action conservatism and the sectarian jealousies between churches.

City Manager Government in Charlotte, North Carolina. By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 9, 1939. Pp. 53. **B-13**

Theme or purpose: To evaluate the success of city manager government in Charlotte.*

Charlotte is the center of a textile manufacturing area and the home of the Duke Power Company. It also makes cottonseed oil, wood pulp, hosiery, chemicals, dyestuffs, rayon, structural steel, bricks, and agricultural supplies.

A trade center and county seat since its incorporation in 1768 Charlotte has, in the last few decades, become an industrial city as well as a distributing point for both Carolinas. It claims that 99 percent of its people are native-born; about one-third of them are Negroes.

In spite of its promising industrial future Charlotte clings avidly to its past. "Historical societies abound and seem to command more attention than contemporary citizenship. The League of Women Voters flourished during the period of enthusiasm for city manager government but lost out in competition with church auxiliaries and organizations devoted to the past."

Socio-Economic: The social structure is extremely conservative, with clearly defined class distinctions, and prejudice against raising the tax rate to provide more social services which would benefit the poorer classes. The city is not interested in recreation, supports no hospitals.† The Duke endowment gives \$40,000 annually for charity work in 4 church-sponsored institutions. It boasts the largest city library in North Carolina, but the 5 branches partly supported by Rosenwald funds have lapsed because the city failed to appropriate its share. Charlotte stays in the ranks of prohibition only by virtue of the county vote—city residents voted "wet" by a small majority. Other trends point toward greater sophistication if not toward true liberalism of thought.

Religion: Charlotte is a stronghold of Presbyterianism in what is claimed to be the largest churchgoing population of its size in the world. Fundamentalists have kept Sunday amusements closed though pressure increases for an "out-door recreational Sunday." In spite of stringent regulations by the city council, a "fortress for churchmen," a high homicide rate with much bootlegging and vice contrast with the religious emphasis.

*Population of Charlotte: 82,675 in 1930; 100,899 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Charlotte: 91,264 in 1930; 112,986 in 1940.

†Digester's note: As of 1946, Charlotte has a recreation commission which is supported by a 2-mill tax. It also has an active mental hygiene clinic. In housing and welfare it seems to have made appreciable progress since 1939.

Political: In 1917 a commission of 3 men solved "the problem of getting rid of ward politicians" in an effort to replace political by administrative functions. The aldermanic form of government, with an assortment of (21) elected officials was too unwieldy for the metropolis that the business leaders were bent on developing. High caliber commissioners succeeded in pleasing the Chamber of Commerce with public improvements for several years until the Good Government League, a study group that wanted an efficient, businesslike, and economical administration of city affairs enlisted the support of prominent clubwomen (some say they started it), industrialists, bankers, and real estate operators and replaced the commission with a council and city manager. Everyone but Union Labor seemed to favor manager government but no Good Government League members were enough interested to serve on the council. When prominent community leaders declined to serve, a council was drafted from Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturer's Association ranks, and an experienced manager was chosen who ran into the opposition of the real estate interests when he began to encourage zoning and planning, to him essential tools of government. The Good Government League had never been active after the election of the council, and lacking the backing of any organization the new manager resigned in 2 years when a whispering campaign was started by disgruntled patronage seekers who had not foreseen the impartiality of a professional manager.

The efficiency of the first manager and his council had been unpopular and "the upper class which had been responsible for it had lost enthusiasm . . . and now dropped back into their customary apathy. . . . Since 1931 the interest and heavy voting has been in the middleclass neighborhoods and the clubwomen and their husbands have largely retired from the field." The new manager fell under the control of the council and "the council fell into the pattern of commission government" until "jealousy and inefficiency and the necessity of playing politics had reduced the productivity of city employees," and (the council) failed to protect the city from undesired state legislation.

The size of the council was changed from 5 to 11 in 1935, by special act, with a return to a semi-ward basis, which though unwanted by municipal leaders broke the lethargy and rid the government of clique control. A local man was chosen as 3rd manager whose leadership has proved popular with council and community.

Charlotte's government has suffered somewhat (in common with other North Carolina cities) from too much state control, but mainly from political apathy on the part of its citizens whose reform efforts were evanescent but whose 1935 enlarged council and competent mayor have given the manager adequate support and a more democratic government.

B-14 *Negro Crime in a Small Urban Community.* By R. M. Lightfoot. Charlottesville: University of Virginia (Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Paper), 1934. Pp. 85.

Theme or purpose: To analyze police records and Negro case histories over a five-year period to gain light on Negro behavior.

Charlottesville* is the seat of the University of Virginia. One-fourth of its total population is Negro.

Among the findings are the following:

1. A definite majority of Negro offenders are single.

*Population of Charlottesville: 15,245 in 1930; 19,400 in 1940.

2. A higher percentage of Negroes than of whites get into the courts.
3. Twice the percentage of Negro women as of white women get arrested.
4. The Negro crime rate of Charlottesville is not enough higher than white to justify the conclusion that the Negro is innately more criminal than the white, especially in view of the relative economic status.
5. The case studies point to the conclusion that the Negroes who get into difficulty do so largely because of defective environment (poorest neighborhoods=greatest number of offenders).
6. Negroes living in a large enough segregated population as to have little contact with whites are not so apt to get into jail as those living in border neighborhoods (imitation of whites).
7. Negro crimes tend to be mild—drunkenness, petty larceny, vagrancy, etc.

A Social Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia. By Robert H. Barker. Charlottesville: University of Virginia (Ph.D. Dissertation), 1934. Pp. 481. **B-15**

Theme or purpose: An exploratory study of social and economic factors in cases of juvenile delinquency that came before the Juvenile Court of Charlottesville and Albemarle County during the winter, eight months, of 1929-1930, when the author was Court Probation Officer.

Data were mainly supplied by case records and a comparative ecological study by census tracts and maps to determine delinquency areas, supplemented by observation and interviews. Tables show population distribution by age, sex, race, occupation of heads of families, economic and cultural indices, as supplied by questionnaire by school children. The study covered the whole county as some of the court cases came from rural areas, but the following comments are confined to the urban situation.

Some subjects treated are: The Juvenile Court in Charlottesville and Albemarle County; Present Economic and Social Characteristics; Physical, Economic, and Social Characteristics of Delinquency Areas; Causal Factors in Delinquency in Charlottesville.

Charlottesville, (population 15,245 in 1930, 19,400 in 1940) 26.8 percent Negro, is the trade, manufacturing, transportation, and educational center of Albemarle County in piedmont Virginia. The area is characterized by contrast in economic, social, and intellectual status. Apart from the University campus, Charlottesville exhibits rural attitudes due to the fact that city growth has largely come from nearby rural counties. A concrete result of this rural mentality is apathy toward providing sufficient funds for the Juvenile Court; the feeling is that Court commitment connotes punishment or riddance of responsibility rather than rehabilitation of the offender.

Rate of delinquency is about the same for boys and girls, whereas most studies show a higher rate for boys. A possible explanation is that Charlottesville had "an unusually well directed Scout organization as well as several other recreational and character-forming organizations for boys" but not for girls, though the author suggests several other causes that seem to him more likely, inherent in the public welfare and police set-up. He explains the higher rate of Negro delinquency by lower cultural standards, less parental supervision, lower eco-

conomic status, fewer advantages. By far the largest number of offenses for both races is for stealing; sex offenses and vagrancy tie for second place.

Maps indicate that the greatest concentration of problem children occurs in low rent, low ground areas of greatest adult crime, near the main business district and along the railroad tracks, in a Negro slum and a slightly better white district.

"In a large number of cases of delinquency studies it was found that the family of the delinquent had moved from the country to the city in recent years" and it seemed conclusive from the case studies that change from a simple to a more complex life was a disorganizing factor. Several case studies showed that family and cultural factors, related to low economic status, were prominent causes of delinquency; there was a family background of crime, dependency, discord, or illegitimacy. Some minor delinquency seemed the result of racial conflict in transition areas where Negroes and whites lived near each other.

Gangs were not in evidence but companionship was an important factor since about 80 percent of Charlottesville's delinquency was committed by more than one offender.

Education: Charlottesville had 5.3 percent illiteracy in 1930, slightly less than other Virginia cities. The county, however, showed an increase of delinquency in the last decade. The role of the school as one of the "defining agencies" of a child's behavior is often mentioned, and school records are cited as a part of the case studies. It is also mentioned that schools have lists of problem children, many of whom they are able to guide sufficiently to keep them out of Juvenile Court. No description or evaluation is given of the schools.

Religion: The church is also spoken of as a "defining agency" but no elaboration is made, no mention of any specific church or religious influence, or any character building program. It is stated that there were two Baptist churches in a certain slum area; in another, a Church of God had tried to gain a foothold but the few members had fallen off until only the minister and his wife remained. Maps show the location of churches but no interpretation is made of their relation to delinquency areas.

B-16 Charlottesville: A Study of Negro Life and Personality.* By Helen Camp de Corse. Charlottesville: University of Virginia (Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Paper, No. 11), 1933. Pp. 101.

Theme or purpose: To get insight into varied aspects of Negro life.

By the use of informal interviews and observations—really a series of case histories—the study looks into getting a living, family life, social activities, with some consideration of emotional instability and social pathology.

A very brief summary of the findings is as follows:

Membership in church and clubs is mainly confined to more prosperous, upper classes. Most Negroes in Charlottesville are Baptists.

There are eleven federated womens clubs plus six purely social clubs. Negro clubs always give to the poor and needy.

Major social evils and delinquency come from groups who cannot create desirable home conditions.

*Population of Charlottesville: 15,245 in 1930; 19,400 in 1940.

Because of strong family feelings, the Negro household usually includes one or more dependent relatives.

A Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Columbia, Missouri.* By Dorothy Martin. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri (Master's Thesis), 1934. Pp. 119. **B-17**

Theme or purpose: Analysis of juvenile delinquency in Columbia, Missouri, and a description of contributory conditions.

This is a study of 55 cases of juvenile delinquency, chosen to illustrate certain contributing factors. These factors are: the broken home, illegitimacy, employment of the mother outside the home, economic status of the family, feeble-mindedness, criminality of the parents, prostitution, and immorality. The community factors which contributed to juvenile delinquency were lack of community-supported recreation, bad companions, lack of educational opportunities, and inadequate juvenile court facilities.

"What Happened at Columbia." By Guy B. Johnson.‡ *New South* (formerly the *Southern Frontier*), Vol. 1, No. 5, (May 1946), Pp. 1-8. **B-18**

Theme or purpose: To give a factual report and an interpretation of the racial conflict which occurred at Columbia, Tennessee,† in February, 1946.

Columbia is a rather attractive and prosperous town, the county seat of Maury County, located in the south central part of the State. The County population is about 40,000 including some 12,000 Negroes.

Columbia has several industries which employ both whites and Negroes. It is surrounded by good farming and pasture land, but this is rimmed by an area of poor farm land comprising about one-third of the area of the county and populated largely by underprivileged white farmers. This fact has a bearing on the apparent feeling of the outlying rural white people toward the townspeople in general and toward the relatively prosperous Negro business group at Columbia in particular. The poorer white farmers complain that "there are Negroes on the streets drawing \$20 a week unemployment compensation, and that's more than a man can make working hard on a farm." Other white people complain here, as elsewhere, about the shortage of Negro domestics.

Maury County has had two previous lynchings: in 1927 and in 1933. In 1933 the lynching was of a 17-year old Negro boy who, after the authorities had released him to presumable safety in Nashville (Grand Jury had brought no indictment), was abducted and hanged on the Columbia-Lewisburg road.

"However, these facts do not mean that Columbia is unique. What happened at Columbia could happen in many another southern town—and *will* happen unless responsible white and Negro leaders get together in a spirit of honesty and common sense and work out methods of preventing such outbreaks."

*Population of Columbia: 14,967 in 1930; 18,399 in 1940.

‡The author is a well known sociologist, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta. His report is based on most exacting methods of investigation which included personal interviews and confidential discussion with many people immediately after the event and during the ensuing month.

†Population of Columbia: In 1930, 7,882; in 1940, 10,579 including 2,937 Negroes or 27.8 percent of Columbia's population.

The trouble started over a radio repair: a white radio repair man, a Negro mother, and her son arguing and scuffling which resulted in the white man's being pushed (possibly falling) through a plate glass window. Arrests for the Negroes, hospitalization for the white man resulted. (The details are too involved to recount here.) "Plenty of mistakes were made on both sides." This about sums it all up so far as blame is to be placed.

"Unfortunately, the truth about the Columbia incident—which was not a race riot in the usual sense—is being obscured by biased interpretations. The official version of the affair as seen in the statements made by Gov. McCord and other officials is that the Negroes engaged in a 'conspiracy' to commit acts of aggression against white people and particularly against officers of the law. They were even inclined to see 'outside influences' aiding and abetting the 'conspiracy.' On the other hand, equally biased statements have been made by certain agencies which are interested in the civil rights aspects of the affair. Some of these tend to 'glamorize' the Negroes who were involved by making it appear that they merely retired to their homes for defense and that they fired only after they were attacked."

"The truth lies between these extreme interpretations. We believe that although the primary responsibility for the creation of tension situations of this sort rests upon white people, the responsibility for the course of events in this particular situation, once it was created, is about equally divided between whites and Negroes."

Dr. Johnson is convinced that there were violations of Civil Rights in the following respects: (1) Needless destruction of Negro property, some of it probably done by the State Patrol and some by white hangers-on; (2) Mistreatment of Negroes at time of arrest; (3) Refusal to give the attorney for the Negroes immediate access to the prisoners, Messrs. Blair and Morton, two highly respected Negro citizens; (4) Unwarranted arrests and indictments of such citizens as Blair and Morton; (5) Unlawful search and seizure.

In his section on "Some Lessons," Dr. Johnson suggests or mentions the following:

- (1) Columbia had no interracial committee of any sort. In view of its history, the community should have had such a committee. Such committees are helpful in establishing patterns of free discussion and communication between members of both races.
- (2) There was a noticeable lack of the sort of courageous civic leadership which might have kept this affair from reaching the stage of violence. The Sheriff (Dr. Johnson commends Sheriff Underwood for his handling of the situation in its early stages) and a few other men made efforts to disperse the potential troublemakers, but the ministers and other civic leaders who frequently stand out in situations of this kind seemed to have made little or no effort toward a peaceful adjustment. One minister was telephoned by a colored friend who said, "I am afraid there is going to be trouble. I hope you will go down town and help to stop it." His attitude was: "I didn't think there was anything I could do about it, so I went to bed."
- (3) Related to (1) above: There was a noticeable lack of clear and intelligent communication between the white and Negro leaders.

- (4) There is a great need for more careful planning of the procedures to be used by local and state police in the handling of dangerous situations.

In suggesting what the South can do, Dr. Johnson says (1) Let sensible people of both races be encouraged to get together more frequently; frank discussion and courageous action can save a lot of grief. (2) The Conference of Southern Governors could sponsor a movement for state-wide citizens' councils on human relations; initiate a series of conferences on ways of reducing race tensions at points where they tend to develop; promote a Southwide movement for training state and local police in an understanding of the Negro minority and in a more intelligent exercise of the powers of law enforcement.

Decatur Long Range Recreation Plan. By Decatur Planning Commission in cooperation with the Alabama State Planning Board and Tennessee Valley Authority, 1945. Pp. 25 (mimeographed). **B-19**

Theme or purpose: A study of recreation needs for a working plan between now and 1970.

This study and plan were made at the request of the municipal government as an aid to the City Recreation Commission. The technical work (maps, estimates) was done by the State Planning Board and T.V.A.

The subjects covered: What kind of recreation, determination of size and location of facilities, and community-wide facilities.

It is not intended that the entire plan be developed as one project, but rather as a series of projects "developed on the basis of periodic determination of neighborhood and city-wide needs."

City Manager Government in Dallas, Texas. By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 15, 1939. Pp. 93. **B-20**

Theme or purpose: An appraisal of Dallas* under the city manager form of government up to early 1938.

This case study, financed by the Social Science Research Council, was made by three disinterested experts aided by local officials and citizens.

Dallas, with adjoining Highland Park and University Park (politically independent but socially integrated with Dallas), has over 300,000 people: 81 percent native white, 15 percent Negro, and 2.5 percent Mexican.

Economics: It is an extremely wealthy city by most indices, is fourth in the U.S. in effective buying power, with an average of \$3,584 per family, with a vigorous commercial life and with beautiful, exclusive residential sections in sharp contrast to miserably shabby houses in unsightly areas. The driving ambition of influential citizens is to become the first city of the state, rivalry having been keenest with Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio.

Dallas is an industrial as well as business center. It makes machinery for the petroleum industry, some women's clothing (over one-third of the women are gainfully employed), and building trades material. The city has the repu-

*Population of Dallas: 260,475 in 1930; 294,734 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Dallas: 309,658 in 1930; 376,548 in 1940.

tation of being an open-shop area, in spite of efforts of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to organize, particularly in the women's garment trades.

Trinity River and the railroad tracks are to some extent barriers for separating Negroes and Mexicans from whites and from each other, and white-collar from laboring areas, while leading families live apart in the suburbs. "The withdrawal of leading citizens to the suburbs has seriously weakened the civic structure of Dallas."

Except for parkways the city shows a conspicuous lack of planning and zoning, with skyscrapers and other big-city aspects along with hard-to-erase marks of the frontier.

Education: Dallas' wealth has been generous in support of the arts; it boasts such institutions as an art museum, a Little Theater, a symphony orchestra, as well as the Civic Federation, a study and discussion group, and such educational bodies as Southern Methodist University and the medical and dental units of Baylor University.

Religion: The city is known as "a strong church town" with a liberal policy toward vice. "Citizens in general want strict law enforcement for Dallas folk but do not object if visitors spend their money in gambling. . . . The city government is almost constantly subjected to pressures which it can never reconcile; the desire of religious groups for strict law enforcement, and the desire of business men that the vice interests be allowed to operate under restrictions."

Politics: As Dallas busied itself with growth the "government moved along perfunctorily unless pressed from outside by lively citizens' groups." Public works programs and sporadic civic reform were "generated outside the city hall." Commission government was established in 1907 but commissioners were elected by personal factions or temporary organizations bent on putting specific policies into effect, with no effort to continue an administration on its record. Pressure groups promoted pet projects through extra-governmental channels or enlisted the aid of commissioners only long enough to achieve their ends. Few competent executives would give up private business to take the temporary job of commissioner. While some departments were fairly well run, performance was spotty and the favorite device was "buck-passing." A modern budget system was installed, with admirable records and procedure, yet the city was usually in debt. In 1931 there was a million dollar deficit in the public works department, garbage cans stood unemptied, and law enforcement was sporadic.

City manager government was established in 1931, mainly due to the efforts of newspapers and leaders of civic associations to whom "politics" was an objectionable word synonymous with patronage and intrigue, by the adoption of a new charter providing for a council of nine members, one of whom would be mayor, council and manager to have clearly defined responsibilities. The leaders of the charter Commission had to become political organizers in spite of themselves and enlisted the help of civic organizations, Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association, club women, industrial leaders. The Pastors' Association and other church groups favored the new charter as a measure of stricter enforcement of moral regulations.

The manager reduced the payroll; reorganized departments, notably the police and fire departments; held heads of departments accountable for performance; refused to tolerate incompetence or idleness; inaugurated reports and performance records; systematized procedures by manuals or schedules which

assured uniformity. He held a seminar for department heads and others interested in public administration, and added promising young men to the staff as apprentices or for special training, many of whom rapidly rose to positions of importance. Planning became an executive tool, particularly in regard to the budget.

The manager also made enemies for himself and the Charter Association by standing on the issue of good government and not building up political support; and by unavoidably taking sides on questions that became political issues. Law enforcement was a notable issue; responsible police jobs could no longer be bought by campaign donations or other pressures. With the system of police protection smashed, the "new regime's crusade was so costly to the vice interests of the city that the leader of the gambling business committed suicide."

Not only were the riffraff displeased but business men found that "their property or interests that had benefited by illegal operation were threatened by strict enforcement." This began to seem serious in 1934 and 1935, as plans were being completed for the Texas Centennial and financial leaders realized that more enforcement meant fewer visitors and less profit. A citizen, a deacon in his church, protested against a raid on gambling in a downtown hotel, arguing that publication of the name of the hotel would be detrimental to the advertising campaign for the Centennial.

Another issue arose over the systematizing of a commissary for distribution of groceries to relief clients, as a measure of efficiency and economy, to which retail grocers objected as unfair because druggists and drygoods merchants received purchase orders.

An even more important issue revolved around the question, to what extent should the city aid the Levee District, which was a project to convert swamp lands along the Trinity River into an industrial district. Other issues arose over light and power rates; salaries, taxes and the Centennial; coordination of departments; impersonality of the manager (he refused to give precedence of appointment or opinion to influential citizens, which was interpreted as neglect of public relations).

The council began to share the manager's unpopularity as specific issues caused friction; was accused of being the manager's rubber stamp. Some members dropped out as political campaigns became hot, others were ousted by the newly organized Civic Association, a reputable name and front for the Catfish Club made up of lodge members from lower income groups, banded together by hatred of the administration, for many different reasons.

In 1935 a new council was elected, of less prominence than their predecessors but "substantial citizens" recruited from church, lodge, service clubs who chose a manager of less repute and idealism than the former manager but who refused to condone patronage, followed the charter and kept firm control of the administration. Council and manager bowed to public sentiment to the extent that Dallas became a "wide-open town" for the Centennial, showing hospitality by winking at vice; "prominent laymen in a Baptist church publicly criticized their pastor for protesting against the toleration of peepshows in the Centennial Exposition that would have been considered rough in a redlight district."

The councils elected in 1935 and 1937 resemble the commission in pre-council days, when men were in politics to be reelected and as advocates for pressure groups, less professionally efficient than the first council but more democratic

and responsive than either the first council or the commission. The change in councils and manager "did not bring a lapse in administrative proficiency" though there was "some letdown in production" due to a somewhat less forceful manager who was determined to get on with his constituents.

The city manager plan has not abolished politics in Dallas, as some civic leaders hoped, for municipal policy is still determined by councilmen who run for office on popular issues. Patronage has been practically eliminated and a more efficient, businesslike government has been achieved. Services have been improved and their cost reduced by more efficient organization and more modern methods of operation.

B-21 Population Characteristics by Census Tracts. By David G. Steinicke. Dallas: Southern Methodist University (Master's Thesis), 1938.

Theme or purpose: To show significant facts and relationships by means of census tracts.

This study deals with Dallas, Texas; social statistics in terms of census tracts. The chief source was the Real Property Inventory by census tracts (1934) plus a schedule to measure neighborhood folkways.

The sample for the schedule was 3.4 percent of the total number of families which were distributed among the 57 census tracts.

The statistics are presented on the following items:

- population composition
- population density
- housing by family type
- housing by state of repair
- housing by occupancy
- absence of utilities and services
- neighborhood solidarity
- proportion of population in selected occupations and in Blue Book
- poverty
- social disorganization
- mortality
- morbidity

Relationships discovered were:

1. Between overcrowding and (a) high tuberculosis rate
(b) high crude death rate
(c) high incidence of juvenile delinquency
2. Between high percentage of rented dwellings and of houses unfit for use.
3. Between high birth rate and low buying power and the reverse.
4. Between low economic status and socially pathological conditions.

An Occupational Study of Negro Maids in Dallas. By Mary Gamble Shannon. **B-22**
Dallas: Southern Methodist University (Master's Thesis), 1941.

Theme or purpose: An occupational study involving attitudes and selections between Negro maids and their employers.

This study was made of Negro maids and white employers. Questionnaires were answered by 100 maids, 50 employers, and 75 Negro high school students in a maid training class.

Four-fifths of the maids resided in colored communities; the majority were married, but were often widowed, divorced, or deserted. Nearly half of them had dependent children.

All of the maids except 5 belong to churches. They liked their employers and only a few were critical of the low wages, long hours, and heavy duties.

The employers were above average economically. The qualities they liked in servants were (1) staying in their place, (2) being dependable and loyal. These facts emphasize:

- (1) the low social status of persons engaged in this occupation.
- (2) the great importance of personal relations in household service.
- (3) the lack of standardization of duties, wages, hours.

A Study of Neighboring in Dallas. By Clyde Irion. Dallas: Southern Methodist **B-23**
University (Master's Thesis), 1940. Pp. 238.

Theme or purpose: To study neighborhood integration or solidarity and effects on individuals in Dallas, Texas.*

This statistical study of neighboring was based on a schedule of 30 questions given to a 7 percent sample of the population distributed among the 64 census tracts.

The scoring of neighboring was done in relation to such factors as age, length of residence, institutional alignments, presence of best friend, church attendance, presence of children, socio-economic classes, distance from center of city, ethnic groupings, and other folkway features.

A panoramic view of the results for the whole city of Dallas shows that neighboring is affected by age. Young adults, middle-aged people (about 45) and those on the threshold of old age neighbor more than others. Women among most age groups neighbor more than men. Neighboring decreases according to the following order of marital status: married, unmarried, widowed, divorced. Neighboring seems to increase with the first years of residence up until the tenth year. After that it decreases.

It was found that local institutional affiliations and other attachments contribute to neighboring. The presence in the neighborhood of a best friend is the most important factor and church attendance within the neighborhood is the least important. It was found, however, that those who attend local churches neighbor more than those who attend non-local churches, who, in turn, neighbor more than those who do not attend church at all. The presence of children accounts for a considerable amount of neighboring.

*Population of Dallas: 260,475 in 1930; 294,734 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Dallas: 309,658 in 1930; 376,548 in 1940.

The nine areas into which Dallas was divided for the study show some variation in the amount of neighboring. The middle-class areas rank highest and the downtown area ranks last. In socio-economic grouping, it was found that neighboring is predominantly a lower middle-class phenomenon, which is followed in order by the upper middle class, the upper class, the middle class and the lower class. The type of neighboring practiced by the upper class levels involves courtesy and cordiality, but less intimacy than that of the lower class levels. It seems that people of the lower middle class subject their personalities more to the influence of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood integration, which really means attachment to the neighborhood, is greatest in the upper classes and decreases with each group. The integration of a neighborhood and the amount of neighboring which goes on in it are different factors and follow different patterns. A neighborhood may be quite well integrated at the early stages of its development and become less so as it deteriorates and lower classes encroach upon it.

When neighboring is measured in one-mile zones radiating from the center of the city, it was found to be an urban phenomenon which does not increase or decrease in proportion to the distance from the center of the city. It is scattered rather uniformly throughout.

When neighboring practices were correlated with ethnic groups, Negroes were discovered to neighbor more than Mexicans, who in turn neighbor more than Jews. The neighboring of the Negroes seems to be spontaneous and an integral part of their native culture. With the Jews it is more individual in character and needs to be stimulated by membership in clubs.

In summarizing the author advances the theory that neighborhood integration does not come as a result of consciousness of kind but from consciousness-of-interest, which is represented by home ownership and formal institutional alignments and has less to do with neighboring than the old village-type consciousness of kind.

B-24 The Role of Institutionalized Religion in Ethnic Groups of Dallas. By Dan Dodson. Dallas: Southern Methodist University (Master's Thesis), 1936 Pp. 160.

Theme or purpose: To trace the role of institutionalized religion in ethnic groups as assimilation has occurred.

This study, embracing about 25 percent of Dallas' population,* includes Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Mexicans, Negroes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Swiss.

Method of study: Interviews, including a 50-item schedule, with posters; visits to services; source materials "bearing on church organization and polity"; church newspapers and yearbooks; visits to meetings of pastor's associations. A prime limitation was found to be the inaccuracy of church records; few churches even knew their exact membership. Nearly all lose touch with members as they change residence, often drop them from their rolls to avoid taxation, on a membership basis, for missions. Another limitation was the lack of a measuring stick for loyalties and attitudes. Membership was found to imply

*Population of Dallas: 260,475 in 1930; 294,734 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Dallas: 309,658 in 1930; 376,548 in 1940. Negro population in 1940: 50,407 or 17.1 percent of the total.

wide variation in willingness to sacrifice. Attendance at services was not solely for spiritual reasons. Contributions sometimes seemed as likely to be for prestige as for desire to serve.

The religious life of these peoples falls into three divisions:

1. Those with strong religious backgrounds whose life is centered around the church (the Germans, Jews, and Greeks) which use devices of language services, parochial schools, and indoctrination to isolate their memberships.
2. Those with weaker religious controls whose group life is centered around nationalist organizations which, though they have brought their religious life, do not depend on it for their nationalist center (Italians, Swedes, Swiss, and Norwegians).
3. Those who migrated to the city without a well developed institutional background with a large amount of indigency and weak communal life because of the lack of institutional control (Negroes and Mexicans).

The ethnic church is strongest when the ethnocentric spirit is strongest and weakens as assimilation proceeds. During assimilation the church is a nucleus around which group values center, breaking the shock effect of mobility upon the personalities of the individuals. Gradually it changes and becomes less of an ethnic church.

While the above generalizations can be made, considerable variation was found within each ethnic group, and even within denominations. The Missouri Synod Lutherans in Dallas have resisted assimilation more than have other Lutherans or other Germans, as in the rest of the United States. Having migrated from Germany because of religious difficulties they hold to their creed of supreme allegiance to the church to such an extent that many members will not belong to other organizations. To an extreme extent they have used such social controls as language, parochial schools, indoctrination of youth, isolation from other groups, to resist assimilation for over 60 years. Dallas churches of this sect represent various degrees of the assimilative process, the degree of difference being "the distance the group lives from the area of first settlement." Another branch of Lutheranism, the United, is more liberal in beliefs and activities, and shows more assimilation, particularly as measured by loss of control over children and youth. Greatest loss has occurred through proselytizing and intermarriage, some loss from lessened interest in religion.

A German Catholic church, organized in 1904 near a German settlement, at first had language services and school, but German is now spoken only in the confessional and many adherents have been absorbed into other Catholic churches. Methodists and Baptists also organized several German churches which retain some of the cultural features of the nationalist churches but have a less tenacious hold than those religious patterns brought from the European homeland.

In contrast to the German nationalist church which perpetuated a single ethnic and national culture, Dallas' Hebrew congregations came from nearly every section of Europe, with a diversity of cultural background and languages in addition to their Hebrew heritage. The Jew, newly arrived from Europe, is usually orthodox, and conservative Jewry has nearly as much strength in Dallas as the Reformed group, both of whom have difficulty in holding their young people. The Reform element believes that culture should be adapted

to the community and their religious program has taken over many features of urban Gentile churches. Church school teachers are paid and "perhaps are required to have a higher standard than teachers of any other church group in the city." Synagogue programs and benevolences are impressive but only about 50 percent of Dallas Jews are members of a Hebrew congregation. "Racial lines cut deeper than sectarian differences. . . . They feel more deeply for one another than for other groups. There is a spirit of cooperation in upholding their status in the community," a strong solidarity and at the same time a pride in their participation in civic affairs, as in their contribution to the Community Chest, 15 percent of the total, though they represent only 3 percent of the population.*

The Mexicans, with a religious background of Catholicism plus some Indian adaptations, have little religious or community preparation for participation in American life such as the Germans and Jews had in their strongly religion-centered communities. Catholicism has lost 50 percent of its control over Dallas Mexicans and its influence seems to be diminishing, with only 350 attending Sunday School out of 2,500 alleged church members. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, in that order, are the strongest proselytising groups. The Mexican tends to go to the church "where they do the most for him."† He came to Dallas for employment rather than for a home and "feels no group pride nor loyalty." For special services, such as marriage or baptism, he goes back to the Catholic church and the author thinks that church has a chance to be the most important institution in Little Mexico.

The Negro differs from other ethnic groups under consideration in that he is not an immigrant; he has come from a rural environment while most of the others have had some urban experience. His main social groups are the lodge and the church; the last affords greater psychological release. On arrival in Dallas he seeks a small, informal church but "in his struggle for status he . . . deserts the small congregation for the more formal, ritualistic, sophisticated attitudes of city life." This pattern is followed whatever the denomination. Baptists lead with 63 percent membership; Methodist, 16 percent.

B-25 A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas. By Jack Robertson. Washington, D. C.: The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1937. 2 vols. Pp. 414. (Mimeographed).

Theme or purpose: To determine needs of American youth, age 12 to 25, in a city of rapid growth.

This report to the American Youth Commission used Dallas, Texas, as the basis for a comprehensive program of care and education.

The study set up criteria or postulates of measurement, the more important of which were:

1. Youth desiring work should have opportunity to work with chances for advancement.
2. Youth's personal development should be carried to the highest potential.

*See "A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community" by J. B. Feibleman, 1941.

†See "Little Mexico" (A Study of Horizontal and Vertical Mobility) by Ethelyn Clara Davis, 1936

3. Youth should share in common ideals and responsibilities of community life.
4. There should be opportunities for creative use of leisure.
5. Personal habits and environment should be conducive to sound health.
6. Youth should not suffer nor feel inferior because of his racial background.

The data were collected from a carefully chosen sample by means of interviewing. The city was divided into 16 areas based on census tracts.

Dallas is a generalized distribution city, with a population of 260,475 in 1930,* principally of native white origin but with 15 percent Negroes and 2 percent Mexican. It is a center for migration from the surrounding area, particularly for young women because of the garment manufacturing. Segregation patterns exist for the three races, White, Negro, and Mexican. Dallas has grown rapidly and haphazardly without planning. It is governed by 9 councilmen who appoint a city manager.

Economic: The study discovered that the chance to work for a living determined more than any other one factor the way other problems could be met; it is therefore basic. In 1936 one-fourth of the white youth and one-third of the Negroes were unemployed. The unskilled occupations predominated in the sample. Those working had meagre wages—a median of 27c an hour and a median working week of 54 hours. The Committee recommends minimum wage and hour regulations to include domestic service with an attempt to employ youth in skill-developing private or public work.

Education: The need for more training in skills is emphasized by the fact that the majority of the youth quit school early because they cannot afford to continue or because they aren't interested in an overwhelmingly academic curriculum. Since most of the youth will remain in school till the 10th grade, the Committee recommends that the public schools should intensify their efforts to equip youth to make a living and assist him in finding a job. Less than 15 percent of the youth interviewed had received vocational advice of any sort. Some effort should be made to introduce young people to community agencies by which they can continue their training because it was found that only one-fourth the young people use the library in a month; fewer than that are associated in any group agency and less than one-tenth are studying part-time.

Among the Negro youth, it was found that only 1 in 5 Negroes had completed high school; 3 in 5 had completed grade school. Most of the youth left school because of lack of funds but a significant number of Negro girls had left school because of pregnancy. Some 90 percent were interested in further vocational training. The role in which the school seems to be failing most is in the development of enlightened opinion. Such was the verdict of the opinion polls, the answers to which were uninfluenced by years of schooling. These were opinions on labor, race, youth problems, drinking, war, etc. It was evident from the answers that few youth gave them much thought. Race prejudice was deep-seated in the whites.

Religion: Among the sample of white youth interviewed 48 percent had attended some church program in the month before the interview, chiefly the devotional service. Married young people are less apt to attend church. It was also found that general lack of interest was the reason given most often for not attending. Young men are less interested than young women. The fact

*294,734 in 1940.

that so few white youth with an educational status of 7th grade or less are participating in any form of church activity reveals that the church is not reaching those to whom it could be of greatest educational benefit. The Negro youth had a 33 percent greater attendance at church activities than the white youth.

Delinquency: Murder and petty theft are the outstanding crimes in Dallas. 75 percent of the murders are committed by Negroes on Negroes although they constitute only 15 percent of the population. The chief reason for arrest for young girls is vagrancy and for young men, charges of "suspicion" and burglary. The great percentage of petty theft may be partly explained by the inadequate police protection in Dallas.

Housing and Health: A housing survey† of Dallas showed that 1,000 dwellings were unfit for use and that nearly half rented for less than \$15 a month. The white youth interviewed except for 6 percent lived in houses with bath facilities and heating, but over half the Negroes' and Mexicans' houses were without these facilities.

Mortality rates are high for Negroes, chiefly infant mortality. Public health expenditure (38c per person) in Dallas is far below average. There was no school health program beyond a cursory examination. Health agencies are concentrated in 2 areas. Much need for work in health education is indicated by one-third of the white youth interviewed and one-half of the Negro groups never having been to a dentist.

Recreation: Although the recreation centers are in areas of greatest need and recreational leaders are trained, the recreation program is only 65 percent adequate according to the National Recreation Association Standards. There are not enough parks scattered throughout the city, particularly for Negroes. The most popular recreational activities are movies, dancing, playing cards. Loafing is more prevalent in the out-of-school group.

The evaluation of the group agencies dealing with youth yielded the conclusion that those providing recreation were not giving sufficiently diverse types to be adaptable to low incomes or to provide activities that will sustain interest beyond a limited period. They have failed to do anything with the actual improvement of social conditions such as low wages, etc. It was also found that the white in-school group which needed the services of the group agencies least were receiving the greatest emphasis in the programs. Coordination of programs is needed.

B-26 *Little Mexico: A Study of Horizontal and Vertical Mobility.* By Ethelyn Clara Davis. Dallas: Southern Methodist University (From Abstract of Master's Thesis), 1936.

Theme or purpose: To trace the trends of mobility among Mexicans of Dallas, Texas.*

This Masters thesis used the interview technique to obtain life-histories of a random sampling of three Mexican colonies.

"Little Mexico" was the first Mexican settlement. There was some movement to East Dallas where there is less mobility within the colony. South Dallas is

†The 1940 census showed 25,120 (of a total 82,421 dwellings reported) as needing major repairs or with no private bath.

*Population of Dallas: 260,475 in 1930; 294,734 in 1940.

the most stable colony, with second generation Mexicans. Those able to buy homes have moved to Juarez Heights. Mobility has been caused by seasonal occupation, by inability to pay rents, desire for lower rents, and to be nearer work.

Economically the Mexican's position is very low; he came as a day laborer and has remained unskilled. Only if he had some education and money has he risen.

Some schools are 95 to 100 percent Mexican; American children refuse to go to school with them.

From church to church the Mexicans move according to which ones do the most for him. Protestant churches have greater success in this.†

Tuberculosis and intestinal diseases are prevalent.

In behavior they are peaceful groups; seldom is any charge brought against them.

Few wish to return to Mexico but there is very little acculturation except through the schools.

Factors Influencing the Assimilation of the Mexican in Texas. By Gladys Wells. **B-27**
Dallas: Southern Methodist University (Master's Thesis), 1941.

Theme or purpose: A study of assimilation of Mexicans in Texas.

This study was made by home visits, questionnaires, conferences with visiting nurses and with parents and children of 172 Mexican families in Dallas.

The most important factor is the *home* which keeps the family united because of segregation, limitations of available employment, nature of migratory labor, and the low income of the group.

The school has exerted less influence on assimilation on this group than on others. The schools' only contributions are ability to read, write, and speak English and give some orientation to American behavior patterns.

The church has not helped in the assimilation problem because the church contacts are only with Mexicans.

Survey of Social Welfare Problems and Agencies, Durham, North Carolina. **B-28**
Under auspices of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1941. Pp. 101.
(mimeographed)

Theme or purpose: To help Durham see itself in terms of social welfare.

This survey points toward guidance for joint planning and coordinating of the community's organized activities for meeting social problems.

The topics considered are as follows:

Family Care and Relief—Department Public Welfare, W.P.A., N.Y.A., County Home, Association for Blind, American Red Cross, Salvation Army, Legal Aid Clinic, Care of Transients.

Child Welfare—Children's Division (Public Welfare Department), Wright Refuge, Juvenile Court, Salvation Army Home and Hospital, Durham Nursery School, Daisy Scarborough Nursery School (Negro).

†Sec "The Role of Institutionalized Religion in Ethnic Groups in Dallas" by Dan Dodson, 1936.

Health and Hospitalization—City and County Health Department, Hospitalization Office, Hospitals, T. B. Association.

Youth Training—Recreation Department, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.W.C.A. (Tubman Branch—Negro), Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, John Avery Boys' Club (Negro).

Community Organization—Community Fund, Budgeting, Campaigns, Public Relations, Social Service Exchange, Council of Social Agencies, Volunteer Service.

The survey includes financial records of each department. It gives recommendations for better service, such as better records for all agencies represented in Council of Social Agencies, including Negro groups for whom there should be more services.

A short paragraph says "Durham is a churchgoing community" but no mention is made of any church participation in above agencies.

- B-29** Social Needs of the Driver Avenue Area. Report of a Committee of the Group Work Division of the Durham (N. C.) Social Planning Council.* By Howard E. Jensen, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Duke University, 1945. Pp. 42 (mimeographed).

Theme or purpose: A study of a deteriorated area requested by the Salvation Army in the interests of a religious and recreational program for children and youth.

This study aims to "ascertain community needs and to serve as a factual basis for the determination of policy," particularly as to the advisability of Community Fund support for the Outpost (center for boys' and girls' club activities), with a health and character building plan similar to Boy and Girl Scouts (Salvation Army Red Shield and Girl Guard programs).

Contents: Historic background of Salvation Army; Characteristics of the Driver Avenue Area measured by objective criteria for substandard areas; Social problems and needs of the area; Constructive social program required; Religious, character-building, leisure time services; the Salvation Army program; Present and probable future composition of the population, to determine possible location of the Outpost; Recommendations.

Both Negroes and whites live in this high mobility area but since the Salvation Army program is for whites only, Negroes are given only passing mention. It is recommended that the Mayor's Interracial Committee give attention to the infiltration of Negroes in white residential streets, to avoid problems that often arise in a chance or unplanned population change.

Economic factors are not included, only implicit in such points as substandard housing, high mobility, Family Service contacts, and low rents.

Education: Schools are only briefly mentioned, mainly in connection with truancy, and to emphasize population mobility. The need is suggested for parental education through classes sponsored by churches, schools, and social agencies. An adequately staffed Division of Social Work within the schools is recommended to handle attendance problems and to develop group work in such subjects as music, dramatics, crafts, athletics—distinct from leisure time programs that emphasize activities rather than group experience.

*Population of Durham: 52,037 in 1930; 60,195 in 1940.

Religious: There are 2 fully equipped churches (Baptist and Methodist) in the area, and 2 other small congregations (Episcopal and House of Prayer) with poorly equipped plants; also a few other small groups that meet in chapels, halls, or homes. Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and Salvation Army supply other religious and character building influences. The Salvation Army has been in the area for 10 years, has a Mission Hall, provides evangelistic, cottage, and street meetings, Bible School, home visitation, etc. Its recreational programs are tied in with religious training; its type of religious expression seems more congenial to Driver Ave. than that of the churches.

The core of the study for the general reader is a discussion of the social service responsibilities of religious agencies and of the financial responsibility of the public toward community-serving programs of religious bodies. The author recognizes the value to the community of extra-religious programs but states that they have no claim on the public purse. There is a dilemma in church-connected social work: Shall social work techniques or religious motivation be uppermost? Neither can be disregarded. Catholic and Jewish groups are finding the answer in professional training at the graduate level: the trend is being fostered by leading Protestant denominations.

The study uncovered cases where both the Public Welfare Dept. and the Salvation Army violated the principles of allocation of services in their administration of relief to needy families. Another aspect of this problem is the dissatisfaction which arises when basic minimum relief needs are met by a relief agency which is also a religious organization, especially when the recipient is a communicant or regular attendant at another church. There is some feeling by members of churches in the area that the Salvation Army is using Community Fund resources as a means of religious proselyting although the Salvation Army has tried to administer this relief in such a way as to give no cause for criticism. The committee recommended an effort to get adequate relief funds routed through County channels and that private agencies should not attempt to meet chronic relief needs.

Recreation: Religious and recreational functions are hard to separate when both are operated by the same agency. The Outpost had different entrances and rooms for religious and secular activities. The committee recommended that the recreation director be released from religious leadership since the outlined program is a full time job including social and athletic activities (similar to Scouting) for 100 children. The Salvation Army recreation program is described in some detail with a comparison to Scouting, Boys' clubs, and other leisure time programs. Salvation Army leaders were found to have far less training than other recreation leaders. The former are mainly high school trained whereas modern trained recreation leaders have college and graduate training.

The Negro in Durham. By Hugh Brinton. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Ph.D. Dissertation), 1930. **B-30**

Theme or purpose: To show adjustments of Negro to city life in terms of social institutional contacts.

Law, occupations, housing, health, religion, education, and recreation are the vertebra of this study.

Durham (population 52,037 in 1930 and 60,195 in 1940) is a tobacco and textile mill city primarily. It has a large percentage of successful Negro businesses notably in banking and life insurance.

The method used was a differentiation between the skilled class of Negroes and the laboring class, assuming that the former had lived in town longer and had made a good enough adjustment to be used as a standard.

Economic: In business, the Negro leadership group is so small that their names appear as trustees again and again. Of the occupational status of Negroes, statistics show that common labor, factory work, and domestic service are the first steps in becoming occupationally adjusted to town life.

Education: The ultimate authority in school administration is wholly white. There is no adaptation of the course or texts to Negroes unless the teachers do it. Over-loading of teachers means that they are not too careful in requiring attendance. The vocational training in the high school is not well related to later possibilities of jobs for Negroes.

Religion: Negro churches can be divided into two types: those of the laboring class and those of the skilled class, which differ in size, building, and especially in type and educational background of the preacher. The labor class church is the greatest stabilizing and socializing force in the Negro worker's life, helping him to adjust to the city. The skilled class churches imitate the white's churches; are detached and unemotional and frequented by lighter skinned people.

Housing and Health: conditions are not as overcrowded as in some urban Negro sections—average of 1 per room—but about one-fourth of the Negroes live under poor conditions. The Negro death rate is considerably higher than the white, and indicates also that Negroes are more apt to die in infancy and early adolescence. Tuberculosis is the greatest cause of death.*

Crime and justice: As a criminal, the Negro is more inclined toward drunkenness, gambling, and fighting than toward serious crimes. Most Negro offenders are under age 26. The densest crime area is in the transitional area in the center of Durham. As for court treatment, Brinton believes the Negro gets as much justice as any citizen with little property and education. The unskilled labor class accounts for 72 percent of the crime.

- B-31** *Juvenile Delinquency in Durham, North Carolina.* By Ina Ruth Melenek. Durham: Duke University (Master's Thesis), 1941. Pp. 116.

Theme or purpose: To study the distribution of juvenile delinquency in Durham, N. C. in its relation to certain cultural conditions.†

This thesis, written on the basis of juvenile court records, the school census, and the Real Property Survey, etc. is an attempt to find out if delinquency in Durham followed a pattern similar to that found by Clifford R. Shaw in his study of Chicago in which he discovered that the greatest proportion of juvenile

*Digester's note: Durham's housing data as reported in the 1940 census show Negroes occupying 5,931 units or 38.8 percent of the total 15,277 units. Southern cities show more overcrowding (1.51 persons or more per room) than other cities in the United States. This crowding is in most instances to be explained by Negro conditions. For all 199 United States cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more there is an average of 5.4 percent overcrowding. Durham's overcrowding stands at 14.1 percent.

†Population of Durham: 52,037 in 1930; 60,195 in 1940. (Of Durham's 1940 population, 38.8 percent or 23,347 people are Negroes).

delinquents were located in the center of the city in those transitional zones where industry was causing social deterioration and where bad housing prevailed. (Shaw's basic hypothesis briefly summarized is that the geographical distribution of delinquency cases corresponds to the distribution of certain cultural factors and that delinquency therefore is a result of culture patterning.)

Durham is a Southern industrial center for tobacco. After discussing in a general way the cultural aspects of juvenile delinquency, the author plots the delinquency areas of Durham for whites and Negroes and concludes with another general discussion of the prevention and cure of delinquency with special reference to the agencies in Durham. In short, this is an "exploration survey."

By plotting the 432 cases handled by the Juvenile Court of Durham during a five-year period (1935-39), it was found that like Chicago, Durham had areas of delinquency concentration, namely, the Pearson school district for the Negroes and the Edgemont school district for the whites. These areas are part of the area of overcrowding in housing,* low rents and poor repair. In fact the percentage of sub-standard dwellings is from 70-100 percent in the white area of delinquency concentration and from 85-100 percent in the Negro as compared to a 24 percent city average.

According to the court records, the greatest number of delinquency cases were larceny cases and the next highest number were truancy. There is not much difference in the proportion of larceny cases between the Negroes and whites, but there is a considerably greater amount of truancy among the Negroes.

(On the prevention and cure of delinquency, this study does no more than outline the type of agencies needed in education, recreation, religion, and in the court handling of juvenile delinquency. The only application made to Durham is the mention of one private agency, the Family Service Association, of the general well-rounded program of the Durham Recreation Department and of the need for more vocational training and ungraded opportunity classes in the public school system.)

The Excess Female Population of Durham, North Carolina: A Study of Migration and Urbanization. By Irvin Dunskey. Durham: Duke University (Master's Thesis), 1939. Pp. 141. B-32

Theme or purpose: To show the pattern of female migration into a Southern industrial city, Durham, N. C.†

This thesis, based on the hypothesis that an excess female population is an indicator of rural-urban migration, attempts to find out the details of this migration into a tobacco-industrial city, through the registration data of the State Employment Office.

The population data for Durham are also compared with the findings for other North Carolina cities.

Concerning the age of the female migrants, it was found that the heaviest migration occurs within the age group 20 to 24, continuing in great numbers through 29. For both whites and Negroes the average age is approximately 25.

*Digester's note: Of 199 cities in the United States with 50,000 or more inhabitants, Durham is in the worst (lowest) percentile as to room overcrowding.

†Population of Durham: 52,037 in 1930; 60,195 in 1940.

Negroes as a group tend to migrate earlier than whites; and the rural migrants earlier than the migrants from other cities.

The female migrants of Durham are predominantly local in origin; 50 percent from Durham and adjoining counties. 80 percent are natives of North Carolina. Because Durham is known as a Negro metropolis, the Negro female migrants generally come from longer distances. 87 percent of all the migrant cases came from rural areas in both white and Negro groups.

Related to occupational groupings, the findings show that the professional migrants come from a greater distance and more often from cities and were older at the time of migration. Conversely the domestic workers are predominantly rural and local in origin.

Interesting enough 69 percent of the female migrants in the sample for this study came directly to Durham from the rural or urban place where they had been born. When "stops" were made before arriving in Durham, the majority were in cities of less than 5,000.

Migration to Durham seems usually to take place when the women are single although there is a fairly large proportion of widowed and divorced.

The educational findings of this thesis seem to be inconclusive because of insufficient data. One interesting variation from what might be expected is that the domestic workers as a group did not have as low educational status as the manufacturing workers.

In answering affirmatively a question as to whether they would leave Durham and accept a job in another place, 60 percent of the total group showed themselves as "potentially" mobile; Negroes slightly more so than whites. Domestic workers were found to be the most potentially mobile occupational group.

B-33 *The Emergence of Ruraltown.* By Robert H. Talbert. Durham: Duke University (Ph.D. Dissertation). 1942.

Theme or purpose: Social change in Farmington, Missouri.

From the historical-anthropological viewpoint, this community case study emphasizes factors of social change: population, transportation and communication, business organization, and structural make-up of religion and education. (This digest features presentday conditions).

Farmington's population: 3,745 in 1940. It is a county seat about 70 miles from St. Louis in the heart of the lead belt. Its business and industry are diversified.

It has grown in a simple pattern around a courthouse square with no planning. There are no definitely good or bad neighborhoods. The white population is almost wholly native born with two main streams: first southern settlers and an influx of Germans after the Civil War. The sex ratio, 86 males to 100 females, is lower than that of the nation as a whole but rather typical of other small Missouri towns. Its percent of people over 55 is larger than that for the country as a whole. The few Negroes, 5 percent of the total, are stable, live in clusters, most of them having been part of the community since pre-slavery days.

The major industries, a shirt factory and two flour mills, are not dominant. The town is essentially a shopping center for the rural and lead-mining area, its roots so deep in the soil that it is on the rural-urban margin. Begun as a

frontier farming center it has evolved from geographic-economic isolation to an interdependence with the region.

The greatest factor for change has probably been the automobile which has so affected business practices. Farmington is on two U. S. highways. Nearness to the lead belt has brought greater prosperity, but little influence. The shirt factory, attracting young single women, has had a slight tendency to create a social problem.

Education: Two public elementary schools and one high school; two elementary parochial schools, one Catholic and one Lutheran. The educational interest has always been strong since pioneer days. During the era of academies and small colleges, Farmington had several but now the young people go to neighboring colleges and universities.

Religion: Ten churches, two of which are Negro, serve 74 percent or 2,774 of the people. Strongest in membership are the two Methodist groups and the Baptist with about 450 members each. Next come the Catholic and Presbyterian, about 250 each. The Lutheran, because of its single ethnic composition, has been somewhat isolated. The general trend of church development has been away from emotionalism toward greater sophistication and dignity in the service. The churches no longer have a strong social control over their members but remain influential as a standard of behavior. Talbert hazards the opinion that the church may be a less-vital factor because it makes less attempt to regulate the *mores* and rather studiously remains aloof from the vital problems of the community.

Government: Mayor and Council whose powers have increased beyond legislation and protection to the administration of the water plant and light distribution which produce revenue enough to support a community park, tennis courts, and swimming pool.

Recreation: Largely unorganized, because of Farmington's size and small-town tradition. Although there are a large number of voluntary organizations, visiting and reading are still important. Movie-going and bridge playing have assumed larger importance. The municipality has furnished the park, tennis, and swimming facilities mentioned above.

Social class structure is not well defined but there is some differentiation of interest groups organized around some focal point like the church. The Lutherans have a stronger group feeling than the other churches.

The general spirit of Farmington is conservative, slow to change, with roots deep in the past but with modern improvements which tend to standardize its culture.

City Manager Government in Fredericksburg, Virginia. By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 10, 1939. Pp. 26. **B-34**

Theme or purpose: A study of the city manager development in an historic city.

Fredericksburg,* 20 percent Negro, is a trade and tourist center with a few small, carefully chosen industries stimulated by local government, with no

*Population of Fredericksburg: 6,819 in 1930; 10,066 in 1940.

thought of such a procedure being "socialistic" but rather that government is responsible for the economic as well as political life of the community.

It is the local tradition for leading citizens to take part in political life; "they take office and direct the affairs of the city as naturally as they serve in their churches or lodges." Candidates "stand" for an office, rather than run for it. "The highest vote a candidate ever received went to a man who announced his candidacy for the council, made no campaign, and left the city for the ten days before the election. "There is seldom more than one candidate for a place, more often co-opted than a campaigner, and once elected terms of office are long. Councilmen are virtually chosen before the election for leadership qualities rather than for their views on specific issues. "To get something done the community does not change its leaders, it persuades them." (Va. poll tax virtually eliminates the Negro vote and many lower-income whites as well).

Fredericksburg elects only one governing body, the council, which appoints the school board and controls educational policies by controlling school finances. The council takes pride in its thrift, in harmony with the conservatism of the community—boasts that tax and water rates and percentage of bonded indebtedness in proportion to assessed valuation are lowest in the state.

The Council disapproves of using taxpayers' money for recreation, a library, or family case work. The P.T.A. and other civic service groups sponsor such "extras" as a High School band or playground. The depression forced the question of relief upon even such a small and stable a city as Fredericksburg, whose council was still struggling (in 1938) with the coordination of city, state and federal welfare work, with one worker under the direction of the city nurse. Special attention has been given to public health, with a superior garbage collection on schedule in city-owned, steamcleaned cans. There are few civic issues because of the stability and homogeneity of the community.

The city was a pioneer in the city manager form of government before the theory or "plan" was considered. The mayor and council, busy, prominent citizens, sought relief from the details of administration as the demand grew for paving and other services and hired an engineer who was designated City Commissioner and assigned the management of most administrative functions with the exception of schools, police, fire and health departments. Thus more than half the city's business was placed in the hands of an executive controlled by a council as early as 1912. His powers grew as council members jumped, at the chance to delegate jobs to a man with professional training, after the water committee called on him to handle some technical engineering. Coordination, planning, and reporting were the main gains of this early administration.

When the first "manager" (though he was never called by any title other than city commissioner) entered the army in 1917 he was succeeded by another experienced engineer who has given over 20 years of satisfactory service, due to his tactful efficiency and a genuine love of the city which he refused to leave for a larger managerial position. With only 78 city employees, about 50 of whom are responsible to the manager, he "is so important that he is the organization. His small corps of helpers is so close around him that he can keep in constant touch with all its work." An engineer is now employed to take care of the technical outside work, leaving the manager free for planning and contacts. His own estimate is that his long-term financial plan is his most conspicuous accomplishment.

A Sociological Study of Gainesville, Florida. By Edgar Cornelius McVoy. **B-35**
Gainesville: University of Florida (Master's Thesis), 1937. Pp. 172.

Theme or purpose: A study of conditions, attitudes, and trends.

Gainesville (10,465 in 1930; 13, 757 in 1940), is essentially a retail and servicing center for the University of Florida but is also a lumbering and turpentine center.

This study covers population composition; economics and government; housing, health, education, recreation, delinquency and dependency, and city planning. (Religion is not considered.) It combines statistical, historical, and case methods, and compares Gainesville with other Florida cities of the same class.

Population: Because Gainesville is a university center, there is a larger than average proportion of young unmarried people, especially males. There is also a larger percentage of Negroes (40 percent) than in similar Florida cities, perhaps influenced by the greater demand for domestic and personal service.

Economic: Domestic and personal service account for 30 percent of the wage-earners. Retail trade (chiefly food stores, filling stations, and eating places) accounts for 17 percent of the wage-earners. The chief manufacturing interests are those centered in lumbering and the building trade.

Education: Gainesville has the reputation for being the educational head of the state because of the presence of the university. There are fewer children attending school than in the average community of its size. Although there are two Negro secondary schools, the city spends only half as much per Negro pupil as for white pupil—not as large a differential as for the South as a whole, however. Illiteracy has been cut in half since 1920, but the rate remains high because of the great proportion of Negroes.

Political: The city government is of the commissioner-manager type and operates the light and water plants. A distinguishing mark is that the mayor is elected by the commission from its own members. A zoning ordinance in 1932 has provided for a minimum of city planning, but in 1937 there was no comprehensive plan. The housing situation is bad in practically all the Negro districts and in South Gainesville.

Recreational: Commercial recreation centers around movies; but some sports are commercialized, especially baseball and football. A public recreation program with a fulltime director had just been inaugurated at the time of the study, Gainesville lagging behind other Florida cities in this. There was in 1937 no park nor municipal swimming pool. Playgrounds and a community center were needed. The Negroes had received no part of the public recreation program. The churches are not mentioned as recreational agencies.

Health: Compared to other similar Florida cities, the health of Gainesville's citizenry seems to be average with a slightly higher death rate. The city employs a part-time health officer and a full-time nurse; conducts a free clinic for children and indigents, annual medical examinations for school children, but has no provision for mental health. The hospitalization for charity patients in the county hospital is inadequate.

Delinquency and Dependency: Higher than average rates occur for murder, burglary, and larceny, and for most petty crimes. This may be because of the large percentage of Negroes since the major crime areas are the Negro sections and Negro boys are the most frequent juvenile delinquents. The rising

juvenile delinquency rate took a sharp dip in 1937, a possible effect of the new recreation program. Delinquents are usually retarded in school and come from abnormal families, broken and usually indigent.

About 5 percent or 400 families, are on direct relief. The chief dependency areas are the two major Negro quarters, the interstitial area and South Gainesville. Some 25 agencies do various forms of charity work with some coordination in a Social Service Exchange.

The maps made for the study shows a correspondence of areas of low land values, cheap rents, low grade housing, adult and juvenile delinquency, and dependency.

B-36 *Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages.** By Jennings J. Rhyne. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. 212.

Theme or purpose: To present data concerning housing, occupations, mobility, and significant attitudes of a sampling of 500 cotton mill workers.

This study deals with four different types of communities in Gaston County, North Carolina: a cotton mill town; a company mill town; a suburban mill village; and a rural mill village (which is not briefed in this digest).

Cotton mill town: This mill town is distinguished by several mills with satellite neighborhoods and a business section. There is municipal government by eight aldermen. The population is in great majority white; 70 percent cotton mill workers which can be divided into three social levels: (1) the home owning, (2) the fairly permanent renters, (3) the drifters.

Politically the town is badly split into three factions: (1) larger merchant and professional interest; (2) lesser merchants and skilled trades; (3) mill workers who are a balance of power to be influenced by the two other groups. School policy is handicapped by such a split. The leadership is too much restricted to the small professional group. No social agencies are provided as in the mill villages.

The eight churches help to assimilate the mill-worker group because they are not segregated in these. However, the worker group takes active leadership in only two of the churches. Church influence is weakened because there are too many and too much denominational emphasis. The over-churching does not allow funds to hire really capable ministers.

Company mill town: The company town differs from the mill town in being unincorporated and dominated by one company. The one studied was marked by attractive town-planning and homes. The three churches, two of which were built with corporation funds, have congregations of both workers and mill officials in seemingly amiable relationship. The school was also built and very much influenced by the company. A community house and director of social work is also provided.

Suburban mill village: This mill village is different from mill town because it is within the corporate limits of a small city of diversified industries. It resembles the company town in that there are attractive company-owned houses, community house, health service and more organized recreation. But these efforts of the company to secure a stabilized working force are offset by the

*Digester's note: Compare with later study of same area by Liston Pope in *Millhands and Preachers*.

breakdown of primary relationships, the urban disorganizing influences symbolized in the gangs of delinquents. The three large churches are made up chiefly of mill workers.

There is a tendency for cotton mill workers to become an hereditary occupational group because they are isolated socially and because in three generations the percent of permanently occupied increased from 18 to 70 percent. Though the majority do not have a tendency to move frequently, the small lowest-class group is very mobile. Home-ownership is the greatest factor to cut down mobility. There is no correlation between mobility and wages.

The working time in 1930 was 11 hours per day, 60 hours per week. In homeowning families, there was a greater proportion of wage earners because the average weekly wage was \$15. Young workers are most desired. Most of the children go to work at 14. The proportion of male wage-earners (68 percent) is increasing.

Of the workers in the three towns studied, 70 percent were housed in company dwellings. Houses average four rooms and families average six persons. Owned houses are not as adequate as company houses, but the facilities are much better than those the family had on tenant farms.

The heads of families coming from the country had a higher educational status than the children now who want to go into the mill.

Recreation is generally unorganized; hunting, fishing, auto-riding, berrying. Very few parties are held for the young people. There is an over-large proportion of young delinquents among mill workers but not much adult crime.

Over two-thirds of the group studied were church members with a higher proportion for the married homeowning group: Baptist with 50 percent, Methodist, Lutheran, and Presbyterian (2 percent) are the order of church preferences. Churches have strong influence. Especially liked are emotional revival services. The negative attitudes toward certain forms of recreation can be traced to the churches' influence.

The attitudes of the mill workers are socially defensive marked by inferiority feelings. There is too much personalized relationship between the mill officials and the workers for trade unions to get a firm hold.

Millhands and Preachers. By Liston Pope. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. 357. **B-37**

Theme or purpose: The role of the church in a textile center.

This analysis centering around Gastonia, North Carolina,* deals with relations between economic and religious institutions at three points or periods: (1) during industrial growth; (2) during the strike of 1929; (3) cultural reintegration after the strike.

Gastonia mills were no exception to the generalization that "industrial awakening in the South was in a sense a religious movement." Religious idealism has often been identified with the rise of mills. In 1890 it was said of a mill-owning family: "Their great success is a fine exemplification of what Southern brains and energy, devoted to business and consecrated to God, can accomplish. Where such men control you never hear of strikes and mobs."

*Population of Gastonia: 17,093 in 1930; 21,313 in 1940.

In spite of democratic ideals, churches came to approximate class segregation, until the mill church emerged as a distinct type of religious institution, often started as a mission Sunday School by an "uptown" church, more from denominational rivalry than from a demonstrated need.

Some peculiarities of mill churches are social insecurity and transiency of members, religious "superstitions," and emotional quality of services. "At a given moment a mill church more nearly resembles a series of meetings than it does an established institution."

In 1939 there were 14 denominations with wide social differences, each identified with an emerging social class. Baptists and Methodists led between 1890 and 1930; Presbyterians and Lutherans lagged, due in part to a better trained clergy. Now newer sects are in the lead, such as Holiness and the Church of God. Episcopalians and Catholics have failed to gain, due to lack of adaptability.

No Gastonia minister had any training for an industrial parish, though the mill preacher is more the focal point of religion than devotion to the church or faith in God.

Churches are not inclined to face social issues but instead side with employers. They are inert about child labor. Both church and mill have a paternalistic slant.

As a "cultural abnormality" the strike was opposed by the churches which aligned themselves with mill management and helped to oust the Communists (as heretics). After the strike the churches made no attempt to modify economic conditions basic to the strike and brought pressure for employment of church members only, presumably to keep out agitators.

Today the church is less active than 60 years ago in shaping economic affairs in Gastonia.

B-38 *The Sociology of a White Collar Suburb: Greenbelt, Maryland.* By William H. Form. University of Maryland: (Doctoral Dissertation), 1944. Pp. 456.

Theme or purpose: An analysis of a planned, one-class residential suburb in a metropolitan area.

In scope this is a study of stratification; organizational history, including social, political, economic, status, and other attitudes and beliefs.

Sources: Farm Security Administration files; Releases from F.S.A. and other Federal agencies, and the town government; official papers from the town clerk; unpublished manuals; newspapers and periodicals, including *The Cooperator*, Greenbelt's weekly newspaper; records and minutes of local organizations; interviews; participant observation for two years. Main conceptual tools, as a measure of stratification; Class, Status, Occupation, and Power (influence).

Greenbelt, population originally limited to 3,000, augmented by 1,000 war workers in "defense homes" in 1942-3, thirteen miles from Washington, D. C., is one of three demonstration projects of the F.S.A. as an experiment not only in housing but in government, education, cooperation, and other social planning. The first "settlers" were housed in 1937. They were carefully selected to meet certain social and economic qualifications, in general based on proportions found in the Washington population.

The study presents a picture of the plans, their development and modification. It shows the effect of Federally-controlled living upon citizens and citizenship. The author concludes that Greenbelt is not a true community, since residents are employed in Washington, do not own their homes, have few traditions and common ties, are not "married or buried" in Greenbelt, many go to Washington to attend church and for recreation. As a Garden City it falls short of English counterparts, as have other American experiments. "Greenbelt is a suburb with the face of a garden city," dependent for many goods and services on the mother city.

Chapter headings include: History of Greenbelt; Communities, Garden Cities, and Suburbs; Class, Status and Occupation; Town Council and Citizens' Association; Consumer Services and the Health Association; Analysis of Participation Trends and Policy Changes; Attitudes of Greenbelters.

Economic: Class depends largely on income since little property is owned by Greenbelters, most of whom have both debts and savings, though most of the debts could be liquidated by tapping the savings. There is 50 percent satisfaction with jobs, those with professional and managerial positions being most satisfied. Government jobs support 80 percent of the families, who feel certain anxieties and frustrations but greater security, than private employment would give. Less than one-quarter are union members, mostly those with manual jobs, in the A. F. of L. Salaried employees constitute three-quarters of the Greenbelters, 57 percent in clerical work, only 2 percent employers or entrepreneurs. This homogeneity of occupation was not true of the preceding generation; about one-third of the fathers of Greenbelters were employers or self-employed, 39 percent of the fathers were manual workers, only one-tenth of the fathers were clerical workers, as contrasted with 60 percent of the sons. Of these, 85.7 percent who started as clerks remained so, while manual workers tended to climb to more skilled jobs. Salaries of Greenbelters have increased rapidly; most of the increase has gone into family increase or a rise in the plane of living rather than into savings. Few wives are employed.

Chapter IX, Greenbelt Consumer Services and the Health Association, describes in some detail the issues, conflicts, changes in emphasis, arising over the administration of cooperatives. It is felt that Greenbelters are now more friendly to cooperatives than when the town was settled, in spite of some difficulties.

Educational: Grammar and High Schools are run by the county with the aid of Federal funds. The Office of Education, whose chief is a Federal official who also acts as tenant selector, operates a kindergarten and nursery school, with the use of town funds. The town has no need of a Board of Education, under this setup. The Office of Education also carries on an extensive program of adult education, a demand for which is created by the fact that many Greenbelters are studying for occupational advancement; and supervises the public library. In 1944 as many as six-tenths of the total population expressed themselves as intending to get more education, with 37 the average age of the group. Over 25 percent intended to take courses leading to professional degrees, mainly engineering and law. Other popular choices were accounting, personnel, economics and government, chemistry and physics, languages. Only one-sixth meant to study cultural subjects; the rest were related to occupational advancement, mostly in government employment. Almost 60 percent of the parents

intend to give their children a college education at least, with another 15 percent saying they will give their children as much education "as they will take." Based on a checkup of recent high school graduates it seems likely that children of Greenbelt parents have a much better chance to go to college than other Maryland youth. 10 percent of the parents said that any salary increase would go for their own or their children's education. For almost one-half the children the fathers do not want to make occupational decisions, though only one-fifth of the parents had given no thought to their children's careers, many of them parents of very young children. Many parents disapprove of the "progressive" features of Greenbelt education.

Religious: This study gives only passing attention to church or religious matters. In an analysis of leadership it was discovered that all town officials were affiliated with some church but that 6 percent of the total population had no such affiliation. There were 62.8 percent Protestants, 20.9 percent Catholics, 10.3 percent Hebrews, 6 percent no affiliation, in the total population; an increase of Jews and Catholics over the original quota, for religious composition of the town was at first controlled by selection. The Jews have furnished the largest amount of community leadership in proportion to their numbers, a fact which has encouraged anti-Semitic attitudes, but the Congregation has not provided the main cementing force of the group though it has contributed to self-awareness. Catholics and Protestants accuse Jews of monopolizing positions; Jews and Protestants accuse the Catholics of "running the town." Public funds were requested for building churches, but the request was denied. Some Greenbelters have never supported local churches but continue Washington affiliations.

Political: Greenbelt is administered partly by Federal agency officials, as the Community Manager (who has also been selected by the Council as Town Manager), and the Family Selection Agent. The Town Council is elected, and chooses the mayor. Managers and directors of the Cooperatives exert considerable influence in town affairs. Federal, state and county governments are often in conflict. Greenbelt has an historic feud with the state. No Greenbelt has ever been active in state or county politics; relations with the county are often strained. Taxation has been a point at issue, due to the large amount of Federal property and Federal support.

Recreation: There were no recreation facilities in the Greenbelt plan, but the Athletic Association has come to be one of the important town organizations, more on the basis of special-interest groups than in attendance at meetings. The spirit of camaraderie carries over into town politics until membership in the Association has become a means of public influence. Others have joined for the "social" advantages supplied by the Clubhouse. The Association sporadically feels some responsibility to the town, as in sponsoring Boy Scouts, the U.S.O., a junior football team. The Woman's Club is the chief status-group for women, is nationally affiliated, admits members only on invitation, includes Catholics, Women's Protestant Guild members, but no Jews, has a small membership. There is a Garden Club, a Camera Club and other small special-interest groups.

Ethnic: No Negro residents are allowed in Greenbelt. The few Negro workers are at the bottom of the social scale, have no share in community life, receive lower pay than white workers.

The Organization, Administration, and Program of the Recreation Commission of Greensboro, North Carolina. By Hughes Davis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis), 1942. Pp. 187. **B-39**

Theme or purpose: A picture of the recreation program in Greensboro, with an appraisal and recommendations.

The author writes from observation and with access to the records and files, after five summers' experience with the Greensboro Recreation Department.

Some chapter headings: History of Greensboro, and of the Recreation Department; Appraisal; Recreation and Populational Grouping; Special Recreation for Individual Age Groups; Recreation in the War; Recommendations.

Greensboro's metropolitan area which is served by the recreation program has six Negro and eight white playgrounds.* In 1942 there were 3,200 Negroes registered at playgrounds and the Community Center, out of a total of 5,000 registrants. There were more adult participants among Negroes.

Leadership has been emphasized, rather than facilities. Games, sports, athletics dominate; the program is deficient in social activities, music, dramatics, and crafts. Men far outnumber women both as participants and in interest and support.

Relations are good, in the main, with other agencies offering recreation except with the city Y.M.C.A., though even here there has been some exchange of facilities. The greatest cooperation has been with the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Church contacts have been made by means of ministerial membership in the Council of Social Agencies. The Recreation Department loans facilities and leadership for church outings and parties. At church classes members of the Recreation Department have given talks and led games. Churches furnish teams for the softball program. "In return, Churches have fostered an attitude of goodwill toward recreation."

Recommendations are for greater acreage in playgrounds; better facilities; more emphasis on attracting participation; adequate financial provision. It is felt that there should be more community interest and participation.

"Planning Based on Facts." By Ruth Y. Schiffman. *Survey* (November, 1944). **B-40**
Pp. 310-312.

Theme or purpose: To show the achievements of social agencies in Greensboro, N. C., working on three years experimentation with the social breakdown index†

The social breakdown study covers adult crime, delinquency, divorce, child neglect, mental disease, mental deficiency, and illegitimacy by means of checking court records, files, and lawyers' data. The purpose is to improve casework and to coordinate the work of the agencies.

*Population of Greensboro: 53,569 in 1930; 59,319 in 1940 (with over 16,000 Negroes). Population of metropolitan Greensboro: 63,469 in 1930; 73,055 in 1940.

†Digester's note: This study, as of 1945, had covered the years 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944. Population of Greensboro: 53,569 in 1930; 59,319 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Greensboro: 63,469 in 1930; 73,055 in 1940.

The index has shown the agencies some of the factors which influence the social pathology and has given them a picture of the effectiveness of their work by showing the number of families each year which experience a serious social dislocation.

The chance to plan preventive measures for the wartime emergency of having a camp in Greensboro meant that the presence of the camp, which did not create new problems and merely accentuated old ones, did not raise the social breakdown level. It has also been possible to study the cooperation of agencies in treating the same families and to achieve more efficient service by the social agencies and in certain cases to effect real rehabilitation.

The data are separated as between white and Negro. Various tables are presented including those for each year showing combinations of types of social breakdown in families having more than one type of breakdown. A list of 22 offenses shows (in toto for both races) drunkenness as definitely the leading offense with assault as second. This is particularly true for whites as compared with the Negroes whose assaultive and liquor violations are more closely tied for first place with larceny coming third.

B-41 *Community Organization and Adult Education.* By Edmund de S. Brunner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. 124.

Theme or purpose: Describes the Greenville (South Carolina)* County Council for Community Development (see Loomis).

This was a 5-year experiment in community organization and development through the interplay of college (Furman University) and community leadership and resources. Several cooperative projects were undertaken.

One chapter is given to the role of the Council in assisting existing agencies and in organizing new ones.

One chapter tells of the local community councils within the larger County Council.

College-community interaction was dominant, the community furnishing field work particularly in sociology and education. New courses in community organization and development and group leadership were open only to those students having a leadership relation to a community group such as Scouts, youth, religious, race relations, and recreation groups. Surveys and service research were of the usual type, the uniqueness being that the work was related to real, even pressing needs, and became immediately usable.

Several cooperative projects were undertaken and delegates were sent to the Nova Scotia conferences.

Another chapter is given to development in the Negro area, mainly a matter of coordinating with the whole program, and developing leadership for the Negro Council which emphasized recreation, education, health, and crime.

Some stumbling blocks to complete success proved to be fear of the Council's potential power, opposition to interracial policies, conflict over slum clearance and housing, urgency of forcing social changes (due to the 5-year financial limit), provincialism of county, over-ambitious program.

Major contribution of the Council lies in "arousing the interest of communities in solving their own problems and demonstrating ways in which solutions

*Population: 29,154 in 1930; 34,734 in 1940.

could be reached." It shows the value of the educational approach in effecting social change. Furman University has become a real factor in community life.

An Experience in Community Development. By Clarence B. Loomis. Clayton, Georgia: Rabun Press, 1944. Pp. 190. **B-42**

Theme or purpose: Describes the Greenville (S. C.) County Council for Community Development. (See Brunner).

The socio-economic analysis deals briefly with the following: Population; urban-rural distribution, school attendance; retail sales and distribution; and occupational factors—all more a listing than an interpretation.

Community cooperation was largely blocked by traditionalist attitudes about race and religion. Conflicts developed between town and mill; new textile workers and old residents; Garden Club landscaping versus municipal armory; and Negroes versus whites in registering for elections.

With the forum movement as a factor, integration was stimulated by the County Council which came to think of itself as a chief means of democratic expression.

A five-year experience in the Greenville project indicates a mutual advantage from college participation in community life, with the school holding the key if it has sufficient leadership and desire for close relationship with the community, and a curriculum "built around the life experiences of the community."

The church has its place of usefulness but is usually hampered by denominational jealousies, overloaded preachers, and lack of training in educational processes.

*Study of Negro Housing in Metropolitan Greenville, South Carolina.** By Gordon W. Blackwell. 1938 (unpublished). **B-43**

Theme or purpose: To show need for a low-cost housing project.

Conducted by a class at Furman University, this study is concerned with a Negro neighborhood. In 1937 most of the Negro dwellings were occupied by only one family, generally had 2 or 3 rooms, and were overcrowded in 38 percent of the cases. The condition of repair showed the greatest deficiencies in outside paint and interior walls and ceilings. About half of the houses have no screening.

Almost none of the houses have a bath-tub connected with running water, and two-thirds had not even running water in the kitchen. Just as many had no electricity. Toilet facilities were a little better with only 16 percent using privies, which, however, were in very poor condition and usually shared by several families (15 percent of those using privies shared them with 6 families).

Concerning the Negro families themselves, it was found that they had considerable mobility, practically none of them having been in the same house over five years. The renter families in the sample had an average weekly income of \$9.85 (\$43 a month). Two-thirds of them pay out more than 30 percent of their income for rent.

*Population of Greenville: 29,154 in 1930; 34,734 in 1940.

- B-44** The Negro in Greenville, South Carolina. By Joseph T. Drake. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Masters Thesis), 1940. Pp. 274.

Theme or purpose: To consider the Negro, his problems and opinions.

This study of Greenville's Negroes deals with population trends, making a living, health, education, church life, and other aspects such as court treatment and recreation. (It confirms other similar studies.)

Greenville is a textile mill city, a trade center, and the seat of Furman University.*

Approximately 60 percent of the Negroes are migrants into Greenville County with a concentration of 50 percent of the population under age 21. This means a heavy burden on the wage-earning group.

About 80 percent (in 1930) of Negroes over 15 were gainfully employed. Of these one-third were in domestic service. There were very few professional people, these being chiefly teachers.

There is a general inadequacy of hospitalization, there being over 646 potential Negro patients for each hospital bed in Greenville County. When a Negro doctor's patient goes to a white hospital, he must abandon the case.

Vocational education opportunities at Sterling High School are not fully taken advantage of because Negro youth have aspirations to go to college and to enter the professions. Lack of equipment is a real problem, but lack of foreign language department troubles the Negroes more.

In 1939 Greenville County spent \$44 for elementary school white child and \$14 for elementary school Negro child; \$81 for high school white child and \$26 for high school Negro child.

The city of Greenville has 41 percent of enrolled Negro children and spends 13 percent of its funds on them.

In 1939, the salary of the white elementary teacher was approximately twice as much as that of the Negro.

In 1939 the teaching load of elementary schools was 24 students for white teachers and 31 students for Negro teachers. For high schools it was 29 students for white teachers and 43 students for Negro teachers.

There was a practice of giving discarded textbooks as old as 1926 editions to Negro schools.

Well over half of the Negroes are Baptist. The great majority belong to Baptist, Methodist, and Holiness groups.

A number of Negro informants were interested in having Negro police.

When more interest than usual was taken in the elections of 1939, the Ku Klux Klan became active again until ordered to desist by the Federal Government. In a municipal election of 250 qualified Negro voters, only 34 voted.

The four chief aspects of disorganization mentioned are the poor housing, the disenfranchisement, the injustice in the courts, and the inadequate recreational facilities.

What the Negro informants want:

1. The right to vote
2. To have their money worth as much as the white man's money
3. Equal pay for equal work

*Population of Greenville: 29,154 in 1930; 34,734 in 1940.

4. Square deal in the courts
5. Equal education opportunities for children
6. Something done about housing and recreation†
7. A chance to better his condition without interference from the Klan, etc.
8. To be treated as human beings, not as animals nor children.

The City Government of Greenwood, Mississippi. By Josie Brumfield. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University (Master's Thesis), 1943. Pp. 112. **B-45**

Theme or purpose: To survey the operation of commission government in Greenwood, Mississippi.*

This study discusses the community background of Greenwood, Mississippi, the nature of commission government and its functioning in Greenwood and the expanding services of the municipality since its adoption of commission government.

Greenwood is a cotton market town located at the confluence of three rivers including the Yazoo. It is the county-seat of Leflore County. The population is about evenly white and Negro, almost entirely native-born.

Greenwood is a business rather than manufacturing center although a number of small light industries have come there recently. It is served by two railroads and a system of highways. Besides being the Delta cotton market, it is the first-ranking wholesale trade center of Mississippi.

Religion is represented by 15 churches for the white population and as many for the Negroes. There is fraternal spirit upheld by 27 voluntary organizations.

From 1844 (its founding) till 1915, Greenwood used the mayor alderman type of government. From 1915 to the present it has had commission government, which consists of "a small board elected at large, exercising substantially the entire municipal authority, each member being assigned as the head of a rather definite division of the administrative work; the Commission being subject to such direct popular controls as publicity of proceedings, recall, referendum, initiative, and a non-partisan ballot."

A Social Study of High Point, North Carolina. By Sarah M. Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis, unpublished, 1933. Pp. 175. **B-46**

Theme or purpose: A field study under auspices of the Y.W.C.A. as a basis for changes of program and organization.

This is one of several community studies projected by the national Y.W.C.A. pointing toward recommendations to local Y.W.C.A. units.

High Point is an industrial city, chiefly furniture manufacturing; population 36,745 in 1930; 38,495 in 1940.

Chapters deal with geographic location, history, growth, traffic and transportation, population analysis, government and politics, economics, labor, educa-

†Digester's note: In common with many other cities, Greenville's vested interests have given lively opposition to such housing programs as that of the United States Housing Authority.

*Population of Greenwood: 11,123 in 1930; 14,767 in 1940.

tion, religion, social work, juvenile delinquency and crime, health, and leisure time activities.

Labor conditions, including notes on recent strikes, are set forth. The interests of women are emphasized, as in jobs, wages, religious attitudes, and religious preferences, activities, etc. Educational agencies include private schools and colleges, public schools, business and night schools, libraries, and newspapers. The role of girls and women and religious aspects have most prominence.

"High Point is a church-going town, maintaining along with many other southern towns that in proportion to its population it is the second greatest church-going city in the South." Parent churches were Quaker, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopal. In 16 denominations there are 39 white and 24 Negro churches, with one Jewish and one Catholic. On the whole church buildings are expensive, heavily in debt; budgets ranging from \$5,430 to \$40,000 for four leading churches. Debts on buildings range from \$6,500 to \$200,000, the heaviest being that of the Presbyterian which some of the members said was practically in the hands of receivers.

A 1926 survey showed 10,345 white church members or about 46 percent of the population. In 1933 the following figures are for the older churches:

	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Attendance</i>		<i>Sunday School</i>
		<i>A.M.</i>	<i>P.M.</i>	
First Methodist Episcopal.....	1,900	850	300	.....
First Presbyterian	600	250	130	480
First Baptist	1,166	.....	.....	857
Methodist Protestant.....	152	150	.....	.....
First Methodist Protestant.....	700	300	150	650
First Cen. Friends.....	695	200	100	.....

Membership of young people's organizations is small, girls outnumbering boys as indicated in three organizations: 26 to 4; 12 to 6; 17 to 13.

Women's activities center around money-raising for missions and church finances. The largest number of women attending Sunday School was in the industrial group; high school girls in second place; very few housewives attending Sunday School. All midweek services were poorly attended. Negro women and girls were lowest in Sunday School attendance, highest in church attendance, highest in practice of family prayers.

Three distinct currents of religious thought were represented:

- (1) Orthodox: religious emotionalism, personal religion, salvation by grace, virgin birth; vicarious atonement; punishment and reward. "Protracted meetings" focus for a week or more on salvation of the lost and bringing them into the fold.
- (2) Liberal: preaching of a social gospel as well as personal religion; better educated clergy; broader view. The Friends church has been conspicuous as leader in social issues. One Methodist preacher is known as a leader toward social attitudes. Industrial questions are freely discussed but no vigorous action is taken.

- (3) Fervid: escapism, emotionalism; uneducated, underpaid clergy. Tent revivals are marked by trances, floor rolling, "unknown tongues." Holiness and Church of God are examples, peopled by mill hands and laborers.

Religious opinion, sampled by questionnaire, showed that most women, regardless of occupation, believed in the Bible as the revealed word of God. Most High School girls, industrial girls, and Negro women believe God punishes recalcitrant nations with earthquakes, floods, etc. On this question, housewives and business girls are about evenly divided. Most in all groups agree that Christianity is "the one true religion"; also, that God is revealed in beauty. The majority of whites believe in dancing; most Negroes are opposed to it. Negroes and High School girls object to card playing, some with the reservation "for gambling."

The Ministerial Association includes most of the ministers (not the Rabbi and Priest, though they are invited), the Salvation Army Commander, School Supt. and Principal, Boy Scout Executive, Y.M.C.A. Secretary. Their activities have included meetings at which creedal beliefs are explained and discussed, laymen giving their views of the practical application of religion. The Association arranged interdenominational services for summer Sunday evenings; decided whether the churches should support certain revival services conducted by a visiting evangelist; opposed a gambling bill before the legislature; and opposed a decrease in the city poolroom tax. They have a policy of neutrality in regard to labor difficulties which led an A. F. of L. leader to say, during a strike: "Ministers are nice chaps but I don't depend on them for any help."

Leisure time activities revealed 4 movies, the 2 largest allowing Negroes in the balconies (no all-Negro theatres); 11 billiard parlors for males over 18; 2 bowling alleys for both boys and girls; a poorly patronized swimming pool; 2 public parks with facilities for golf, tennis, baseball, and swimming; 6 playgrounds for whites, 2 for Negroes, including those at parks and schools; a Country Club; private dancing clubs. For women there are civic clubs, study clubs, bridge clubs. "Many women devote a great deal of time to church and missionary activities."

Juvenile delinquency and crime are given a short chapter, mainly listing numbers and types of offenses and treatment with maps showing delinquency areas.

Social agencies are listed as Junior League, Red Cross, Boy and Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., Salvation Army, City Public Welfare Dept., and the Community Exchange, a temporary relief agency started by a local church and largely manned by volunteer workers from cooperating churches.

Community maladjustments have arisen, particularly about race and labor, due to rapid growth. There is a "radical" group many of whom are members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The city is in debt and several labor crises have arisen with two competing unions involved.

"Religion taught in many churches has the earmarks of the country church. . . . A large percentage of the population is migrant from the country and has brought attitudes and customs created by a rural environment into a city setting."

- B-47** "The Houston Delinquent in His Community Setting." By Elbert L. Hooker, Research Secretary. *Social Statistics*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 1945). Published by the Research Bureau, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas. Pp. 33.

Theme or purpose: To present data useful for administrative and planning purposes of health and welfare agencies in the treatment of delinquency.

This study aims to answer three questions: (1) Where do the delinquents live? (2) Do they tend to be concentrated in certain sections of the city? (3) If the delinquents are concentrated, are there other characteristics which differentiate these "delinquency areas" from other sections of the city?

Houston went on the census tract basis in 1940; it has 50 tracts.* Only delinquent children living within the city limits were selected for the study; total 4,287 (2,652 boys and 1,635 girls). Age range for boys: 10 to 16; for girls, 10 to 17. Ethnic composition: 2,509 Anglo-American, 663 Latin-American, 1,115 Negro.

Delinquency in Houston is distributed in a very definite and basically typical geographic pattern, similar to that of other large cities. It is most heavily concentrated at the center of the city, with the central business district and the areas more or less immediately surrounding it having a much higher rate than the areas toward the periphery of the city.

Economic and educational status are much lower in the high delinquency areas while at the same time they contain much more sub-standard housing, tuberculosis, and foreign-born. It is quite apparent that delinquency does not exist in isolation, but is closely inter-related with other major social problems.

In general, the findings of this study indicate that in Houston, as elsewhere, delinquency is deeply rooted in the basic pattern of community life. While it is true that delinquency is much more highly concentrated in certain areas of the city, the geographic pattern it forms arises out of the total complex of social and economic processes.

The conclusion can hardly be avoided that delinquency can be reduced to a minimum only through far-reaching changes in our social and economic structure, as well as in our social attitudes. Such a conclusion does not mean that much cannot be accomplished in substantially alleviating the problem. Only in the light of actualities, however, can a rational attack be made on delinquency in Houston. Unless we understand that delinquency is inextricably woven in with other social problems, sound measures for the alleviation of the problem and for the skilled treatment of the individual delinquent child will never receive continued and understanding support throughout the community.

There are unilateral, one-sided, or "pet peeve" theories of causation of delinquency. Delinquency will not be appreciably diminished by even an ideal recreational setup which is unaccompanied by other ameliorative measures. "It's in their blood" is another theory. Delinquency may be socially inherited but it is never biologically inherited. "Delinquent parents" is another theory. If categorical indictments must be made, perhaps "delinquent adults" would be a better term.

The delinquent in Houston, as elsewhere, is a product of our social life. Delinquency will be diminished just about to the extent that the community

*Population of Houston: 292,352 in 1930; 384,514 in 1940; population of metropolitan Houston: 339,216 in 1930; 510,397 in 1940.

is genuinely concerned that every child have the right to a healthy body, a sound mind, and an undamaged personality.

"Houston Children and the Police." By Elbert L. Hooker, Research Secretary. *Social Statistics*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April 1946). Published by the Research Bureau, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas. Pp. 44. **B-48**

Theme or purpose: To analyze Crime Prevention Division records which will have administrative value and to "answer certain questions often raised in the community about juvenile offenders."

The data handled are mainly for boys under 17 and girls under 18. The contents include the following: Trends in Number of Arrests; Age Distribution; Place of Residence; Place of Offense; Seasonal and Daily Variations in Arrests; Source of Complaint; Type of Offense; Repeaters; Disposition; Agency Registration; and Conclusion. There are 16 tables and 2 maps.

The geographic distribution of Houston delinquents and the relationship between delinquency and various specific community characteristics has been discussed in detail in a previous publication.* Arrested children are confined to no one section of the city, but they are found much more frequently in those areas in which the effects of our major social problems can be seen most clearly.

The Crime Prevention Division, whose function is detailed in this study, is not a treatment agency. Its task is to make a diagnosis of the individual child's situation and then arrive at a decision as to whether to release the child to his parents or other responsible person, or to refer him to the Probation Department, or to refer him to other social agencies. When some such decision is made, the case is closed so far as the Crime Prevention Division is concerned.

This progressive conception of police departments and crime prevention does not envisage, then, the police engaging in case work treatment or in establishing recreational units and the like. It does envisage, however, that police departments should utilize all the knowledge and sound theory that has been developed in the methods and techniques of handling children, and that the police should make the most effective possible use of other agencies and organized resources of the community. It further envisages that the police department, social agencies, and other groups interested in the prevention of delinquency should have an organized set of reciprocal working relationships.

There are two fundamental prerequisites which must be met if a crime prevention division unit is to operate most effectively. The first is that it must have immediately under the head of the Division a highly qualified person with social work training and experience supervising a staff skilled in the methods and techniques of handling children with behavior problems. The second major prerequisite is that there be adequate resources in the community to which children can be referred for services and treatment. Otherwise the Crime Prevention Division cannot fill adequately a major purpose for which it was established.

At present in Houston neither of these two prerequisites is being met. The result is that many children and families who both need and could profit from

*See "The Houston Delinquent in His Community Setting" by Elbert L. Hooker, *Social Statistics*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 1945).

agency services are not receiving them. Until these two major needs are met, a sound well-rounded program for the prevention and treatment of delinquency cannot come into existence.

B-49 *Caste and Class in a Southern Town.** By John Dollard. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. 502.

Theme or purpose: A close-up, realistic picture of Negro-white relations in a small southern town revealing the "emotional structure which runs parallel to the formal social structure of the community."

Method: Five months resident research as participant-observer of the community, sponsored by the Yale University Institute of Human Relations, using some of the techniques of psychology, sociology, psychoanalysis, and social work. In order to be accessible and acceptable to both races the author had an office in a professional building and was known to be collecting Negro life-histories for publication.

"Southerntown," the unnamed research site, population about 3,000, a little over 50 percent Negro, is in the Deep South, "Democratic, dry, Protestant, agrarian" and American-born; the trade, medical, legal, educational center for the surrounding cotton-growing county whose population is 70 percent Negro.

Subjects treated include: Economic, Sexual, Prestige Gains of the White Middle Class; Caste Patterning of Education, Politics, Religion; Negro Accommodation Attitudes; Aggression within the Negro Group; Negro Aggression Against Whites; White Caste Aggression Against Negroes; Defensive Beliefs of the White Caste; Gains of the Lower Class Negroes; Caste Symbolism.

Economic: The low economic status of the Negro is evinced by the "second-handedness" of his home, clothes, car, food, social customs; by high pellagra incidence; by the fact that midwives attend the birth of his children. Labor turnover is high, wages low, choice of jobs limited by caste.

Educational: "The shadow of caste falls over the school in Southerntown." In the earlier ages the percentage of white and Negro children in school are about equal; in later high school and college years the white percentages are three times that of Negroes, though there is a 3-year High School in town. and a county agricultural and industrial High School underway, providing better-than-usual Negro education in spite of short terms, seasonal absences for work, and low-paid teachers. In Southerntown only 5 percent of the Negroes are illiterate, though in the county 25 percent cannot read or write. Parents and clergy work for better schools and more schooling. Education irons out folk traits; superstition evaporates in science classes. On the other hand, caste antagonism is sharpened by the competition given white workers by the efficiency of educated Negroes.

Religion: The author, who seems surprised at the religious zeal of white Southerntown, notes that sermons are "addressed to the personal sinfulness of members and do not deal with current social issues," and notes that politicians, businessmen, and others dependent on community support are conspicuously active in churches. Regular prayer meetings are not uncommon in business offices. Church life is cited as the best example of bi-racialism, that is, of a social

*Indianola, Mississippi, and the same town written up by H. Powdermaker in her *After Freedom*.

order divided in all its functions along caste lines; it also provides social and political training for Negroes, since religious leadership is one of the primary activities of the middle class group. Descriptions are given of several revival services. Middle class churches deplore the emotionalism of the lower class religious expression, and revolt against a too literal interpretation of the Bible. The author speaks of the "detachable conscience" of the Negro, which leads him to create church ceremonials to relieve his guilt rather than to stress self-control.

The church is recognized as a stabilizing force, while education tends to be a disturbing experience; it is stated that most of the higher institutions of the state, for Negroes, are church supported, a fact which makes the whites less hostile than they usually are to Negro higher education. The author sees the Negro church as a "form of collective activity which gives pleasure and is a center of social solidarity" as well as a means of social control.

Politics: Disfranchisement of Negroes is discussed; the importance of the vote to the lower class white; race issue in politics; oppressive taxation as a cause of interest in political participation.

After Freedom. By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. Pp. 408. **B-50**

Theme or purpose: A case study of a Mississippi community to understand the "living forces of a culture; their present functioning and their impact on individuals."

Type of study: An experiment in applying the field methods of anthropology to a "segment of contemporary American society." The author, with a year's field experience in the study of culture in Melanesia, spent a year in "Cottonville"* as an authorized visiting teacher. This professional role assured her acceptance by both white and Negro elements in the community and provided a reason for participant observation of church, school, and civic activities; public and private social events; and home visits among both races.

The research was sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

The book is mainly a record of the author's observations and interviews, supported by some historic documentary material. It is a study of attitudes in one community, "makes no attempt to generalize for the South as a whole," "emphasizes Negro and interracial attitudes, leans toward women's viewpoint since the author's association was necessarily more with women than with men, though she does not consider this a serious handicap, particularly among Negroes since the Negro family in Cottonville is so largely matriarchal."

"Cottonville," population 3,000 in the 1930 census, slightly more than 50 percent Negro in town and 70 percent Negro in the county, is the county seat and trade center of an agricultural region in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, with a history of large plantations and much slave labor.

Chapter headings: The Social Scene; Economic Considerations; Cohesion and Conflicts in the Negro Family; Religion and Superstition; Education; The Negro's Response to the Situation.

*Digester's note: "Cottonville" is Indianola located in the Yazoo Delta, the same community treated by John Dollard in his *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*.

Economic: Considerable space is given to wages, labor, unemployment, relief, insurance, debts, loans, taxes, wealth and social status, and Negroes as employers. Cottonville is the center of a one-crop (cotton) agricultural area, where the whole family is considered an economic unit, with no sentiment against child labor among either renters or sharecroppers; it is less an urban center than a part of the plantation system.

Education: Schools are described in some detail, comparative budgets given for Negro and white schools; comparative amounts of schooling for the different social classes; teacher training; status and effect of Negro education; white attitudes toward Negro education.

Religious: Church activities and religious attitudes, particularly of the Negroes are described in some detail, as "the Negro Church is the one institution in the community where the colored people are in full control." The point is made that while the form was copied from the white churches, even to the use of the same hymn and prayer books, emphasis and ideology have been changed to fit Negro needs. Several pages are given to a description of religion under slavery.

Cottonville people of both races are nearly all church members, and while there are several denominations, Fundamentalism is the mode, and more women than men attend. There are 6 Negro churches comprising 2 Methodist, 2 Baptist, Christian, and Church of God in Christ, all similar except the last, popularly called Holy Rollers or Sanctified, which is more emotional, characterized by shouting and dancing and by a belief that members are endowed with powers of healing and "gift of tongues." White churches number five: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Catholic. Among the whites, denominational distinctions are somewhat more significant than among Negroes. Among both races Sunday Schools, women's missionary societies, choir practice, elders' and deacons' functions, have strong social and secular interest. All have yearly revivals. Among Negroes, with one exception, services are held only on alternate Sundays, for financial reasons, but members usually attend other churches, not necessarily of the same denomination, on the "off" days. Rallies and socials given by one church are patronized by the whole community, and on fifth Sundays of the month an inter-denominational Sunday School is held.

Typical worship services, Sunday School classes, and funerals are described, with samples of sermons, as well as revivals and other forms of "getting religion."

The church occupies a "pivotal position" for most of Cottonville, exceptions being chiefly young Negroes whose education has outstripped that of the Negro preachers. A few of the lower class attend only revivals and socials but plan to join a church "someday." (A prostitute said she will join when she "retires" but cannot do so now as weekends are her busy time). While some members attend because it is the accepted pattern, the author thinks that religion basically affects the thinking of both races, in spite of seeming discrepancies in behavior, which can be explained by the doctrine of repentance, and by Negro concept of God as a merciful, lenient deity, more in the mother-image in keeping with their matriarchal family.

Negro teaching emphasizes brotherly love, both neighborliness and racial tolerance, but the older ones stress the joys of Heaven, or "Bright Glory." Codes of sin and virtue vary; gambling is the worst evil to some, others consider

adultery less wicked than dancing. But all sins can be forgiven, with no danger of forfeiting heaven.

To account for the preponderance of women in church activities the author suggests the psychiatric explanation that the church provides a means of sublimated sex expression, in such experiences as "shouting," accompanied by bodily contortions and frequent loss of consciousness, though she admits that such interpretation must be speculative.

Many young, educated Negroes who do not "get religion" as violently as their elders still find in the church their chief social life and an avenue for administrative abilities which have little other outlet. In its conventions, clubs, entertainments, rallies, the church plays an important secular role. In the annual convention, "with its exuberant sociability and busy manipulations," Negroes have their chance to play politics, and here men come to the fore in church affairs. For the rest of the year women take the major responsibility, including financial. Fund-raising entertainments provide the core of Negro community life, besides paying church debts and helping needy members, and supporting foreign missions when there is money enough. All ages and classes participate in such frolics as chicken hunts, candy pulls, chitterling suppers, style shows, and mock weddings. The author calls attention to the greater amount of "humor, wit, and mirth among Negroes as compared to the whites," with the suggestion that such occasions afford not merely the expression of high spirits but a release from tension. In both its secular and religious character the church is a "conservative force" that relieves and counteracts the discontents that make for rebellion and at the same time performs the vital function of maintaining the respect of the Negro individual.

A chapter is given to superstition, particularly voodoo, whose "doctors" have both white and Negro, male and female clientele, indicating that voodoo, unlike the church appeals equally to both sexes. Like the church, the appeal of the conjure doctor is more to the old and his prestige is waning with increase of education.

Politics: Passing mention is made of the poll tax and disfranchisement and the Negro's attitude toward government.

Organizing the Community for Delinquency Prevention. (A study of Families of 100 Delinquents in Jacksonville, Florida).* Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1937. Pp. 28. **B-51**

Theme or purpose: To study families of delinquents in order to determine whether a community could organize its services so as to cut down on juvenile delinquency.

When the study was broken down by races, it was found that the problems were just the same although the number of Negro delinquents was proportionately greater. About 83 percent of the families were in dire economic straits, the Negroes more than the white.

All but 14 of the children-delinquents came from broken homes with discord existing in the other homes. Almost one-half of the 100 families have official

*Population of Jacksonville: 129,549 in 1930; 173,065 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Jacksonville: 148,713 in 1930; 195,619 in 1940.

criminal records for one member or more; 26 of the parents had records of desertion.

The most prevalent health problem was syphilis and gonorrhea; next was undernourishment and anemia.

Of the 84 families about which housing information was available, 43 lived in a condition of overcrowding.†

Although the great majority of the 100 families had been known for several years by one or more social agencies before the delinquents' first court experience, certain basic weaknesses in case work made for failure in delinquency prevention. Families had reached serious disintegration before the first contact with social welfare programs. The diagnoses of the cases were very inadequate in two-thirds of the cases in the first year of contact, and little individualized attention was given the children. Reasons for the inadequacy of the social agencies' programs in Jacksonville were manifold. Inadequate relief funds, no children's case work services, no foster home care, no psychiatric service, inadequate hospital facilities are several reasons.

In recreation particularly, Jacksonville does not meet the needs of growing children. There are 13 instead of a needed 36 playgrounds, no club houses, nor camping facilities nor opportunities for wholesome mixed recreation. The survey also found that the juvenile court while conducting some good child welfare service had several weaknesses: political appointment for probation officers, failure of probation staff to use community agencies; not enough use of probation and very poor detention facilities. There is need for coordination in community agencies.

B-52 Community Survey of Social and Health Work in Kansas City, Missouri.*

Summary Report under auspices of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., for Kansas City Charities Committee and Council of Social Agencies, 1939. Pp. 177. (Mimeographed)

Theme or purpose: A survey of all social and health work in the city with the purpose of outlining courses of action.

The survey staff was recruited from various sections of the country, with the help of national agencies such as the Child Welfare League of America, American Public Health Association, Y.M.C.A., and others at the request of local agencies. One of the motivating purposes of the survey was to save money, if possible, at least to secure full value for the existing budget of \$1,100,000 per year.

Study of services was made mainly in these groupings: recreation, family welfare, child welfare, public health. The main problem is public relief with effective case work the chief need. Need for improvement was noted in both health and welfare services as follows: for children, more foster home care and more selective use of institutions; changes in care of aged; replanning of recreation; better organization and leadership for Negroes.

†Digester's note: Jacksonville's percentage of overcrowding (persons per room) is 8.7, which is better than the figure for most southern cities, but higher than the average of 5.4 for 199 U. S. cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more.

*Population of Kansas City, Missouri: 399,746 in 1930; 399,178 in 1940. The metropolitan area of Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas included 608,186 in 1930, and 634,093 in 1940.

It is noted that churches have perhaps overdone recreation, to the extent of institutional buildings with gymnasiums and swimming pools which became useless as the neighborhood changed or the congregation dwindled. Recreational agencies were found in single churches; in interchurch situations where the sectarian might be combined with secular; in neighborhood or community non-sectarian situations.

The question is raised, whether it is sound policy to allocate community funds separately for homogeneous groups, such as Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. The warning is given, to keep all programs flexible, to guard against the duplication of services or overlapping geographical area, in use of church property.

The survey accepts the viewpoint that recreation is a desirable character building service for a church, but that church programs should be coordinated with each other and the community program, that they should avoid being completely sectarian and be more emphatic of democratic participation, that they should be represented on the Recreation Council.

The survey shows that for Child Care too many children are in institutions, that private funds carry too large a burden of child care. Religious institutional care is out of proportion to population, i.e., nearly one-half of the institutionalized children are in Catholic institutions, with only 12 percent of the population being Catholic. (82 percent is Protestant). Too many children's problems are not solved but merely passed on from one institution to another. A clearcut adoption policy is needed.

Seven Years of Council Manager Government in Kansas City. Kansas City, Missouri: Civic Research Institute, 1933. Pp. 35. (Mimeographed) **B-53**

Theme or purpose: To study impartially the workings of the Council-Manager administration.

This study discloses that the principles of the charter have never been observed and that only public opinion and demand can put them into operation. The main achievements are simplification of government, reorganization of departments, and concentrating of responsibility. Chief failures: wasteful expenditure, inefficient service, failure to take advantage of opportunities provided by the charter; all due primarily to partisan politics.*

Reports are made on finance, health, fire service, public works, 10-year plan of public improvements, personnel, police and crime, public welfare, and water supply.

Where These Rocky Bluffs Meet. (The Story of the Kansas City, Missouri, 10-year Plan). By the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, 1938. Pp. 293. **B-54**

Theme or purpose: To show this 10-year plan as the culmination of many efforts at improvement.†

This is an historic account of the growth of the city whose 10-year plan started in the early 1930's. This seems to be a serious and factual study. (The

*Digester's note: Kansas City under the Pendergast machine was one of the country's most notorious instances of municipal corruption.

†Digester's note: There is scarcely any mention of the place of the church in the community.

civic secretary of the Chamber of Commerce spent more than a year collecting and organizing the material.)

Considerable space is given to methods of financing the Plan, and costs of the various improvements. The types of improvements projected are as follows:

Public buildings	Blue Valley improvements
Parks and playgrounds	Municipal Auditorium
County and school improvements	Sanitation and sewers
Health and welfare	Wharves, levees, waterfront
Stadium and outdoor theater	Water supply
Safety	Airport
Trafficways and boulevards	

With three years to go at the time of publication, the Plan was well in hand and promised to be carried out in all important details.

- B-55** *City Manager Government in Kingsport, Tennessee.* By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 17, 1940. Pp. 29.

Theme or purpose: An appraisal of the city manager government in a town with no previous history of any other form of government.

Kingsport* grew in 30 years from a pasture and a few farmhouses to a unique industrial community.

It was planned and created as a model town by large financial interests, has been cooperatively managed by a group of industrial plants with an eye on the resources of the area; the timber and minerals and the native rural people from whom the labor supply has been drawn. Kingsport is "unusual in the diversification and integration of its industries and in the forethought and care that those industries have devoted to maintaining the personal and political loyalty of their employees."

The Kingsport Improvement Corporation was formed to build the town and coordinate its civic enterprises, to furnish freight for the Clinchfield railroad. The development of the community reflects the personality of the president of the Corporation, an idealistic but shrewd man, a railroad promoter with the confidence of eastern business magnates and at the same time in close touch with local people, mountaineers whom he believed would be freed from ignorant poverty by controlled industry. His industrial creed was "humanics instead of mechanics" and he emphasized the religious development of the town.

Economics: Kingsport's dozen major industries, mostly branches of corporations doing a nationwide business, were carefully selected to conform to high standards of industrial management, able to cooperate commercially and yet be financially independent of each other, with long-range social and economic stability, the size planned commensurate with the labor supply. About 40 percent of the workers live in the surrounding country and farm their hills in their spare time. Union organizers made little headway in such a labor group (the

*Population of Kingsport: 11,914 in 1930; 14,404 in 1940.

Kingsport Press, Inc., is the only industry operating under closed-shop union contracts). "Kingsport boasts that it is the only city in the world where raw timber can be converted into a finished book."

Three factors had a bearing on the organization of community functions; the intense individualism of the people, rapid growth, and the desire of the founders for a model town.

Kingsport is different from its neighboring towns not only in its beauty and convenience—property was sold with deed restrictions on buildings and land use to enforce the plan of the experts—but enjoys health, welfare, recreation, and educational services beyond the essential minimum.

Community functions are carried on by voluntary cooperation among leading citizens as well as by municipal government. For example, there is no zoning ordinance but zoning is accomplished by deed restrictions by the Improvement Corporation.

Large-scale housing developments have been carried out by business for its employees. Recreational facilities are operated by private agencies, as American Legion, Rotary, and the larger corporations. Health services have been variously financed and managed, partly by some of the corporations, partly by the Commonwealth Fund, sometimes in cooperation with the county, with local contributions and from a system of hospitalization insurance for employees.

Welfare work was carried on mainly by volunteer agencies with funds from the Community Chest. These services would not have been available to Kingsport by any efforts of voters who were largely unaware of their need of such services as city living demands, because of their rural background.

The board of education operated a large part of city administration, both as to funds and proportion of city employees. A library grew out of a book club, under the management of a library board appointed by the board of education. The library is supported by private donations and services and by funds from the city and community chest.

Politics: The Improvement Corporation carried on the functions of local government until 1917 when Kingsport was incorporated and by the same act the municipal government was created, though it only gradually took over the functions of a governing body. The Corporation had the advice of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in drafting a charter and setting up a 5-man council and manager form of administration, in an effort to extend its reputation of "model town" to an efficient, progressive, and impartial government.

The administrative organization under the manager was divided into 8 departments of 65 employees, and some of the functions were shared with the county and the corporations. There have been few controversial issues and corporation officials have supplied the political leadership, with the approval of the community, since voting is light at municipal elections, though since 1930 "a slight restlessness has arisen," an indication perhaps that "the ex-mountaineers were beginning to compare themselves with other industrial workers rather than with their rural cousins."

The 3 managers have given satisfaction and the recent tendency is to give the manager more details of administration.

- B-56** New Leisure: How Is It Spent? By Frances Hampton. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis), 1935. Pp. 113.

Theme or purpose: To show what 122 textile workers are doing with the new leisure created by the N.R.A., as applied to certain types of activities.

This study deals with Leaksville, Spray, and Draper, neighboring textile communities in the foothills of the Blue Ridge, in the northern part of a North Carolina border county. It is a field study by interview. Considerable space is given to history and description of the community and industry. Spray is one of the oldest mill villages in North Carolina; Leaksville held aristocratically aloof from industry until 1916.

Leaksville's population: * 1,814 in 1930; Draper's, 500; Spray's, not given. The people are largely of Scotch-Irish ancestry from Virginia.

The three towns had 15 textile plants with invested capital of \$9,500,000 and 3,615 employees in 1929.

Education: eight elementary and one high school in 1929. (Educational data on the 122 workers does not appear in the study.) The inquiry into reading habits revealed that four could not read and others could not read with ease enough to make it a pleasure. Since 1930 there has been a library which in 1933 had 1,182 volumes with 1,760 subscribers. In addition to the public library there are small libraries at the various Y.M.C.A.'s and Girls' Clubs, and some of the drugstores have lending libraries. "Much more popular with the textile group . . . are the following magazines: *True Stories*, *Western Stories*, *True Romance*, *Detective Stories*, and *Movie Magazine*." Of those who claim to read newspapers, 11 read only "Funnies" and one only the Sport page. In her concluding recommendations the author states that the subjects of her study did not use the library and suggests that an effort should be made "in the field of adult education to eliminate illiteracy and many border cases of illiteracy." "The night schools of the communities should make some provision for teaching reading and writing as well as offering more technical instruction."

Religion: three organizations are listed as influencing the use of leisure—the churches, the Y.M.C.A., and the Girls' Clubs. There are 19 churches representing nine creeds. Earliest churches were, in order, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal. "The churches have a marked influence on the lives of the people," especially in Spray where there are "numerous denominations and many sects of the same denomination" including Moravian and Christian, Primitive Baptist and the "Church of the Living God." "In Spray, reading the Bible is the chief source of diversion and the daily source of reading material for several individuals." A survey in 1934 by the Ministerial Association showed 45 percent of the citizens of Leaksville-Spray to be church members. In this survey in the three communities there were four Methodist Churches; four Baptist; three Presbyterian; two Christian; two Episcopal; two Holiness; one Moravian, one Church of the Brethren, and some others from whom information was missing. The number of church members was given as 4,495 with 4,159 in Sunday Schools, and an average attendance at Sunday

*Digester's note: Spray is unincorporated and in population is much larger than Leaksville. One mill in Spray during World War II employed over 5,000 people. (This is significant in connection with church membership.)

School of 3,102. In Spray the unusual church influence seems to be mainly negative: "Attending movies, listening to music or playing any kind of musical instrument, or participating in games or sports, are considered sinful."

Partly because of this religious attitude toward sports and other diversions, the recreational programs of the Y.M.C.A.'s are not fully used, though a qualification of membership in some of the boys' groups is membership in a Sunday School. The Y.M.C.A.'s are considered one of the major influences in community life, though the large membership is partly accounted for by the fact that many homes do not have plumbing and men join the Y to use the bathing facilities. The Y's sponsor Bible Classes for men as well as boys.

Recreation: in spite of the opposition to movies by certain churches, attendance at picture shows ranks high among the ten top leisure-time activities; 60 percent of the group studied attend. Of the 49 who never go, many expressed disapproval. As many as 39 go once a week or oftener. In addition to commercial motion picture houses the Y's frequently show good movies for a 10 or 20 cents charge.

Among major diversions, one is "music" but when the time spent with radios, victrolas, and player-pianos is subtracted, it is seen to have little creative or social value. Another major interest is automobiling.

Baseball leads in the active sports, though here again many "participants" only attend games. There is a Tri-City Baseball League and some of the Sunday Schools have teams. A large number, even of members, take no advantage of the athletic opportunities offered by the Y's, in fact few of the subjects of this study take any active part in sports, some opposing them on religious grounds. Walking ranks next to baseball, with swimming in third place, either in Y pools or the river.

Card playing and other table games interest less than one-third of the subjects, mostly men, with many non-players violently disapproving.

A large number of both men and women spend most of their leisure—time not spent at their wagepaying work—in some form of domestic activity, as gardening, care of animals (chickens, hogs, cows, pets), home repair, embroidering, in addition to housekeeping and child care. The author considers their "rural" interests to be explained by the fact that they have rural relatives and many of the mill workers themselves came from farms and frequently return for visits.

Fewer than one-third of the subjects reported any club membership or participation. "In this group, club membership consists primarily in affiliation with various organizations associated with their work, the church, the Y, and with certain insurance groups." The author recommends community leadership in developing civic, informative, and recreational clubs. Most of the social life of the Tri-City community, other than work contacts, is found in churches, Y's, and miscellaneous calling which takes a great amount of time.

Another recommendation is for folk dancing, sponsored by church and school, since so many of the religious groups condemn social dancing, which is enjoyed by relatively few (16 percent) of the subjects. Another suggestion for a hobby is home improvement and beautification, noted by the author as a need in the communities studied.

B-57 *Surveys of Negroes in Little Rock, Arkansas, and North Little Rock, Arkansas.*
Compiled by the Writers Program of the W.P.A. in the State of Arkansas,
1941.

Theme or purpose: To study the Negro community in Greater Little Rock.*

Economic conditions, agencies for betterment, and ameliorative efforts are studied by interview and questionnaire.

Nearly half the Negro families have 2 or 3 employed workers. The average wage for domestic workers is \$3.74 per week. Negro women are employed in larger proportion (40 percent) than they are found in the total population (25 percent). Negroes in business represent only 1.7 percent of total Negro population and are restricted to "small business" category. Negro labor is unorganized largely because of lack of leadership and a tradition of "getting in" with employers as being the only way to succeed. Business of Negroes is hampered by (1) lack of capital and credit; (2) lack of business training and experience; (3) insufficient support by the Negro population; (4) failure of Negro business men to cooperate for their mutual advantage. Teaching, with salaries averaging little more than half that of white teachers, seems to be the best profession for the Negro in Little Rock.

Housing: Families of 8 or 10 frequently crowd into 2 or 3 room structures devoid of elementary conveniences. Even with Federal housing aids the economic helplessness of a great number of Negroes keeps them from improving their surroundings.

Health: The death rate is far greater than that of the whites; lack of complete health records handicaps improvement. The Negro population is not maintaining itself numerically.

Religion: The church is the most important form of group expression; consolidation would permit employment of more competent pastors. The church should become more articulate concerning problems that affect the social well-being of the people.

Delinquency and crime: This problem is complicated by lack of strong character-building agencies such as recreation center, boys' clubs, etc. Crime is out of proportion to the population, usually in such offenses as petty gambling, drunkenness, disturbing peace, and disorderly conduct. There are no Negro police for Negro neighborhoods. Punishment of Negro offenses against Negroes has been somewhat perfunctory. More adequate records are needed.

Social service: Agencies do not reach many Negroes, young working girls, for example.

Race relations: some indications of better understanding and cooperation are interracial programs at Negro and white churches; Urban League programs; white medical men cooperating in Negro health programs and Negro physicians being admitted to special post-graduate institutes at the University of Arkansas School of Medicine.

*Population of Little Rock: 81,679 in 1930; 88,039 in 1940. Population of North Little Rock: 19,418 in 1930; 21,137 in 1940.

Recreation in Louisville: An Historical Sketch. By Elizabeth A. Wilson. Louisville: University of Louisville (Master's Thesis), 1938. Pp. 132. **B-58**

Theme or purpose: An interpretive description of the growth of recreation in Louisville.

Material for this study was collected by interview with recreation-minded citizens; from files, records, and published reports of the Recreation League, the Community Chest, the Recreation Council, Park Commissioners, and from newspaper files.

Louisville, Kentucky (population 335,414 in 1937, with a child population of 62,727 in school),* was a pioneer city in the playground movement but has not wholly kept pace with the recreation movement, due to the "lack of civic consciousness of the community as a whole" though the sustained interest of the few citizen leaders has resulted in sound foundations and steady growth.

The study falls under the main headings of: Historical Background, Public Recreation; Interpretation (evaluation and suggestions for improvement).

Maps show the location of public and private recreation facilities, and delinquency areas. A table shows the distribution of recreation facilities with relation to delinquency areas, and indicates that two of the six overcrowded, vice-ridden districts which have over 5,000 children have especially inadequate play space and facilities.

Public recreation facilities for Louisville include 5 community centers, 8 playgrounds, 15 schools and libraries used for classes. Private agencies include both white and colored Boy Scout Headquarters, community centers, settlement houses, school centers, and for whites only, Girl Scout Headquarters, Y.M.C.A., Y.M.H.A., Y.W.C.A. Whites have a Baptist Goodwill Center, Negroes have Presbyterian Colored Missions and a Y.W.C.A.

Ten summer camps are operated by Scouts, Y.W.C.A., and other agencies for both races.

There were in 1937 a total of 696 commercial and private recreation agencies in Louisville, in addition to church recreation programs such as dramatics, swimming parties, hikes, bowling, and picnics. Catholics have helped to build several churches by Bingo parties.

From the small beginnings of a few playgrounds sponsored by civic clubs as early as 1900, recreation grew slowly until a conference was called in 1924, representing the Park Board, the School Board, Civic Clubs, Welfare Agencies, the Churches, the Board of Trade, and the Community Chest to make a city-wide, year round plan. Out of this conference came a Recreation Council and Bond Issue for \$1,500,000 for an enlarged program.

In 1929 Recreation became a division under the Department of Welfare, with the Park Commissioners responsible for physical equipment in public community centers and for tennis, baseball, and golf facilities, and the Recreation Division responsible for leadership and program, which include summer playground activities, a municipal athletic division, and a community center division, as well as training institutes and athletic clinics.

W.P.A. and N.Y.A. have contributed to Louisville recreation through their statewide projects.

*Population of Louisville: 307,745 in 1930; 319,077 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Louisville: 404,396 in 1930; 434,408 in 1940.

Local leadership training has been supplied by the Recreation Department of the School of Social Work at the University of Louisville. An additional step toward well-trained recreational leadership was the passage of the Merit Bill, which placed workers in the City Health and Welfare Departments under the merit system. A tie-up with the University Graduate Division permits in-service training.

B-59 A Housing Project in Louisville: Its Social Interpretation—A Study of College Court. By Howard B. Hollenbeck. Louisville: University of Louisville (Master's Thesis), 1940. Pp. 108.

Theme or purpose: To interpret the effect of the public housing development on the group life of its residents.

This case study by a university graduate student aided by the Municipal College for Negroes was made of College Court, a housing project for Negroes, built in Louisville,* Kentucky in 1937. As a background he presented a brief history of public housing in the United States, especially in Louisville, Kentucky. The most significant chapters are those on the history of the housing project and on group life and leisure time activities therein.

The Real Property Inventory of 1934 showed that Louisville had twice as high a percentage of dwellings unfit for use, without running water or indoor toilets as the average of the 64 cities which were surveyed; over twice the percentage of units renting under \$15.00 a month and nearly twice the percentage of dwellings over 40 years old. In short, housing conditions were very substandard.†

When the United States Housing Act of 1937 was passed, Louisville was already housing-conscious and equipped with a Municipal Housing Commission and Planning and Zoning Commission. The two low-cost housing projects, of which College Court is one, had been begun under the P.W.A., but were finished under the new United States Housing Authority.

The Negroes in Louisville are scattered in alleys throughout the city with a concentrated section just west of the central business district. In a study in 1931 by the Planning and Zoning Commission, it was found that 24 percent of all the Negro dwellings were in bad repair and that 44 percent of the houses had merely open vaults for toilets. To be socially effective, therefore, public housing units could not rent for more than \$5.00 a room in order to meet the needs of the lower-income Negroes. The group just housed in College Court, however, was of the Negro middle-class, chiefly the families of porters, domestic servants, and waiters who had a reputation for economic stability and good social behavior.

The effect of residence in the housing project on the group life and leisure activities of the occupants was gradual, aided by the resident manager, who was the key leader. Because the tenants did not come from the neighborhood in which the project was located, they had numerous club, church, and social

*Population of Louisville: 307,745 in 1930; 319,077 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Louisville: 404,396 in 1930; 434,408 in 1940.

†Digester's note: The 1940 census showed Louisville with 39.9 percent of its total housing in need of major repairs or with no private bath and 10.8 percent of its housing as overcrowded.

affiliations with other Negro groups in Louisville, which most of them continued to maintain. The factors which seemed to promote community spirit were not the similarity of income and former living conditions, but the similarity among the occupations pursued and the sense of being together in a new experimental project.

The first voluntary organization which was promoted by the manager was a Glee Club which had a short and successful career and was formally disbanded. Other organizations were later formed which included as active members only about one-fourth of the project, showing that there was considerable duplication of membership and small groups. A Recreation Council helped with the supervision of the children on the College Court playground and with the sponsoring of entertainments for the group. Two small social clubs of men and women respectively took care of charity problems. The young boys had a fairly effective Boy Scout troop and the older adolescent girls a social club. The men's club sponsored a soft-ball team for younger men, and the younger married women had a bridge club. A non-denominational Sunday School was organized.

Besides these clubs and activities sponsored by the manager and the tenants themselves, a settlement-house type of recreation program was furnished first by a representative of the City Recreation Department and then by two W.P.A. recreation workers. The program embraced folk dancing, arts and crafts, storytelling, puppetry, etc., and took care of all age groups. About half of the tenants took part in some activity. The season of maximum participation was in summer when the playground which serves not only College Court but the surrounding neighborhood was in full swing.

The factors which seemed to hinder recreational activities within the project were the general urban character of the social situation, the lack of much leadership within the tenant group, and the absence of a large auditorium in the project for movies and large group gatherings. Social class distinction was a deterrent also.

Summary Report. The Louisville Survey. R. O. Loosley, Director of Survey Staff. Louisville: Auspices Community Chests and Councils, Inc., March, 1939. Pp. 163. **B-60**

Theme or purpose: An appraisal of agencies participating in the Community Chest.

This report was made as a working manual for the management of the Chest and its member agencies. It was found that the Chest was economically administered with sound budget procedure. Some recommendations were made in the interests of greater efficiency and better services, but the city's principal problems are in the operation of its tax-supported departments. Solutions lie in more financial appropriations, and in a community plan correlating all official and voluntary efforts.

Contents: The Background; Role of Private Agencies; Family Welfare and Related Services; Care and Protection of Children; Mental Hygiene; Group Work; Public Health and Care of the Sick.

Louisville has the third highest infant mortality rate for cities in its population class, and is second highest in general death rate. It is 25 percent above the average for the country as a whole in the number of children receiving institutional care. In February 1938, 2,400 families needing relief were unable to secure it from any source. Thus, Louisville's problems are relatively great for its size.

The city has 6 public social and health administrative units. It has 71 private social and health agencies, 35 of which participate in the Chest and 36 non-Chest. Of these, three-fourths are operated under the auspices of church groups.

Educational: The most serious lack in the Y.M.C.A.'s program is diagnosed as informal educational and cultural opportunities, especially coeducational, with need for better defined educational objectives for boys' work, less competition and more group organizations. The outstanding fact about the Y.M.H.A. is the large amount of coeducational activity for youth and adults.

Religious: Of the church-supported agencies, 8 are in the field of dependency, 6 are social or recreational centers, 14 are child care institutions. Few of these confine their care to children of the denomination, thus these church institutions are carrying a community burden. These non-Chest agencies represent a wide variety of standards. Care varies from 40c to \$2.14 per day per person. There are few vacancies in homes for the aged but in the children's agencies there is an average of "420 beds vacant at all times; and present occupancy runs from 53 to 97 percent with evidence that some of the children's organizations make a strenuous effort "to maintain sufficient population to warrant their continued existence."

Unmarried mothers and their children are provided for in the Susan Speed Maternity Home, the Synodical Presbyterian Orphanage, and the Orphanage of the Good Shepherd. Louisville is one of the centers of religious and fraternal institutions for child care. The State has developed institutional child care far beyond the national average. One of the findings of the report is that adoptive practices in private agencies do not "place adequate emphasis on a study of the background of the children accepted for placement."

Recommendations are for more boarding care and more careful records at all the children's agencies. Work with unmarried mothers should not be concentrated at any one agency. Private agencies have a special responsibility to develop high standards in adoptive work. "This should include careful study of both maternal and paternal background of children accepted for adoptive placement as well as a thorough understanding of potential adoptive homes." It is also urged that "infants and children of pre-school years should not be cared for in any institution except on a temporary basis because of physical and emotional needs, and the effect on mental development."*

*Digester's note: From the Social Statistics Bulletin of the Health & Welfare Council of the Louisville Community Chest (No. 3—Part II) March, 1946 compiled by Mrs. Beatrice Pearson, the following is noted with regard to child welfare: "39 percent of children were in institutions at the end of 1945 compared with 33 percent at the end of 1943. The increasing number of neglected children is a reflection of the unsettled conditions which were an aftermath of the war. . . more children had been deserted than ever before . . . situation continuing into 1946." Chart XIV showing type of care for dependent and neglected children, 1943-1945, gives the trend lines as going up for 15 institutions and down for children in foster homes, in homes of parents, and in homes of relatives.

The Salvation Army offered both social and religious service and was a Chest agency. Wesley House, a Methodist-supported Neighborhood House, was appraised as doing fair work in a needy area but was criticized as operating on a too meagre budget and for having a drab, unattractive building that did nothing to bring beauty into desolate lives. It, too, was missing an opportunity for coeducational programs. Plymouth Settlement House is a Congregational home for colored working girls, with activities for children. It has a Negro staff but facilities and leadership are inadequate and inefficient. There is a Presbyterian Colored Mission which sponsors religious and recreational activities for boys and girls. It has white leadership and support and it is recommended that some colored leadership should be developed, also that more coeducational activities be planned. Some contribution to racial understanding has been made through the use of white volunteer workers. The Union Gospel Mission is operated by a Board representing the major Protestant churches in the city. It largely serves the unchurched in a needy neighborhood but the report recommends discontinuing Chest aid since it offers religious service primarily, and allowing the Mission to be financed as are the other churches of the city.

In several sections of the report it is recommended that more use be made of church buildings for recreational and educational purposes. This is particularly necessary in transitional neighborhoods where it would be unwise to build. The Presbyterian Colored Mission wanted to build an additional plant but was advised to wait until it can be seen which way the Negro area will develop, and in the meantime to move its staff from one church to another on different days for special activities. Another recommendation recurring many times is for more youth activities, particularly creative and coeducational.

Recreation: Better trained leadership is the prime need in this field. 55 percent of the groups were led by volunteers with inadequate training or supervision. Most groups were too large for effective work. Better use of existing facilities should be made before adding new property. Here again more coeducational activities are urged, especially because boys and girls are separated in Louisville High Schools. Dancing is recommended along with more "opportunities for young people to do things together; more music and drama."

Planning needs: The city's "social resources are out of joint" and need the participation of "political groups, business associations, religious organizations, as well as social agencies" for a solution. Private agencies should give high quality services, should place the needs of the community above the interest of the individual agency.

City Manager Government in Lynchburg, Virginia.* By H. A. and K. H. Stone and D. K. Price. Chicago: Public Administration Service. Pub. No. Sp. 11, 1939. Pp. 50. B-61

Theme or purpose: An appraisal of the city manager form of government as compared with earlier systems in Lynchburg.

Lynchburg is a conservative city dating from 1786, with a mature economic life and with social and political leadership in the hands of a few first families. A tobacco center in the 19th century, since 1900 it has developed its shoe and

*Population of Lynchburg: 40,661 in 1930; 44,541 in 1940.

textile factories and foundries as local industries outside the current of nationwide corporations, with no attempt to interest northern manufacturers, and with laborers almost 100% America-born, non-union men.

For its stable, older families, Lynchburg is a good place to live, in sight of the Blue Ridge mountains and in the midst of satisfying cultural traditions. In or near the city are Randolph-Macon College, Lynchburg College, Virginia Episcopal School, and Sweetbriar College. The better homes, formerly scattered throughout the city are now in exclusive sections, in sharp contrast to the blighted areas in which "almost 11% of Lynchburg's families were found doubled up in 1934. And 10% of the Negro units were classed as unfit for occupancy."†

City government has been in the hands of the upper class families who took their responsibilities seriously, and whose leadership was accepted by the rank and file, many of whom are disfranchised by the poll tax.

Until the advent of a city manager in 1920 the government was "ridiculously intricate," for a hundred years under a unicameral council and then under a bicameral council. It "was so full of checks, checks upon checks, and checks upon checks upon checks" a "headless government, with many feet and hands but without a central nervous system to coordinate their movements," that the political leaders themselves advocated a city manager to simplify and professionalize their business, release them from the details of administration and expand the public works program. The change did not upset the continuity of political leadership, but after the death of the manager the council was enlarged to make room for a few "ordinary citizens" from middle class and working class neighborhoods, as in the old, bicameral council.

The new manager, a local man who was director of public works under the former manager, and the enlarged council continue a responsible and harmonious government though financial methods are still inefficient, thanks to state law and the vested interests of officials.

Lynchburg had one of the first health departments in the South and was the first to employ a tuberculosis nurse. A division of social service has been established under the health department, financed jointly by state and city funds. The city sponsors a minimum recreation program. There are two parks and 2 community houses that work well on slim budgets. No attempt is being made to cope with housing and social rehabilitation, two of the city's major problems. There is a privately endowed library, a home for aged and a city hospital under the direction of the health department. The city is zoned and has a planning commission.

B-62 *Final Report of Basic Comprehensive City Survey of Meridian, Mississippi* (W.P.A. Basic Comprehensive City Survey Project, O. P. No. 65-1-62-65), December, 1940.

Theme or purpose: To map out land use and other physical-social factors for city planning.

Land use, housing, and health are the main features of this study.

Meridian is the leading industrial city and railroad center of Mississippi with railroad shops and diversified light industries, encouraged by a fortunate posi-

†Negro population in 1940: 10,236 or 23 percent of the total population.

tion as to labor supply, transportation, and natural resources; population 31,954 in 1930; 35,481 in 1940.*

The land use survey which is basic to other planning data revealed that 6.5 percent of the developed area of Meridian is occupied by industry located along the railroad and largely in the southeastern and southwestern parts of the city. Commerce takes 4.2 percent, residences 45.0 percent of the developed area, leaving a considerable amount of undeveloped land and a very small proportion in parks and playgrounds throughout the city area.

Negro and white dwellings are scattered with clusters of Negro segregation in various parts of the city. Single-family wood-frame dwellings predominate. The housing survey revealed several distinct problem areas where most of the dwellings are in need of repair or unfit for use: two Negro districts; one is a mixed area; four bordering the railroad tracks in the industrial section. Although the problem areas show a definite concentration of population, the predominance of single family dwellings makes the overcrowding not much out of proportion with the rest of the city. The proportion of owner-occupied homes is much less in the blighted districts and there is the usual high correlation between areas of poor housing and relief agency clients.

Births and deaths in the blighted areas are greater but a disease like tuberculosis is not isolated.

Miami: Economic Pattern of a Resort Area.† By Reinhold P. Wolff. Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1945. Pp. 172. **B-63**

Theme or purpose: To study resources, occupations, and incomes.

This study, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, has an optimistic note especially as to climate. It gives some basic economic statistics relating to Miami, Dade County, and southern Florida; includes comparative statistics to illustrate "some of the results of Miami's peculiar specialization—tourist trade." Possibilities of "broadening the city's economic base are discussed in detail."

The War's Impact on Milan, Tennessee. By Jean Noland, Research Assistant. Nashville: Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1944. Pp. 40. **B-64**

Theme or purpose: To show by comparison the changes brought to a town of 3,000 by the presence of two large war industries during a 3-year period.

This study surveys what can happen to a small town under sudden industrial impact. It was undertaken to serve as a guide to Milan, Tennessee, in facing its planning problems.

Milan, during the period from January, 1941, to January, 1944, changed from a market town of 3,000 in the midst of a rich trucking region in western Tennessee to a town dominated by a huge shell-loading plant and ammunition depot, with a population estimated at 8,000 in January, 1944.

*Negro population in 1940: 12,853 or 36.2 percent of the total.

†Digester's note: Without maps and with lack of clarity as to charts, tables, and statistical comparisons, this is not a sociological study. Population of Miami: 110,637 in 1930; 172,172 in 1940, the 55.6 percent gain being one of the greatest for any city in this decade. The gain in the outside area (metropolitan) was even greater, 263.6 percent, so that as of 1940 metropolitan Miami has 250,537 people.

Economic: Before 1941 there were two manufacturing establishments in Milan, a garment factory and a box factory employing together less than 500 people. Fruit and vegetable packing was also a major occupation for several weeks in the summer.

The industrial picture since 1941 has been most affected by the ordnance plant and depot run for the United States by Proctor and Gamble, employing 9,000 to 10,000 in 1944. 85 percent of the employees are white; 15 percent colored; women make up 42 percent. Most of this occupational force is drawn from the area of small farms around the depot with an estimated 1,000 living in Milan. The county's total population engaged in manufacturing increased 266 percent in the 4 years after the 1940 census. In Milan the increase has been almost 400 percent. The great influx of population (5,000 in 3 years) has created problems in housing, transportation, education, health, governmental costs and services, recreation, cost of living, etc. Interviews with merchants resulted in the conclusion that the retail trade had tripled in 3 years.

Education: The population influx seems to have affected school enrollment less than any other institution. Although the white elementary school has increased about 200 in enrollment and attendance, the white high school increased only by 20 and attendance actually decreased, probably because of the opportunities for employment and because of the draft. Both Negro high and elementary schools decreased in enrollment and attendance. Three new teachers were hired. A nursery school was established for the children of working mothers; but certain specialized subjects of the school program have been cut out because of the teacher shortage.

Religion: Milan's churches have assumed new importance in the years since 1940. It was impossible to obtain information on increased enrollment from all churches but the First Baptist Church reported 70 more church enrollments per war year than the normal amount; a church annex was built in 1941 and a pastor's assistant hired to aid in contacting the people.

Government: Government expenditure per month has doubled with the influx of the population to operate the various departments. It has been necessary for Milan to go into debt. Although the Federal government contributed \$800,000 for wartime construction, the town had to contribute \$100,000 of the sum. Traffic and road construction have assumed problem proportions because of the tremendous increase in transportation. A planning commission to help solve these war-created problems was established in 1943. One problem is the city airport which was sold at a loss to the United States government and some counterpart of which the citizens are eager to regain.

Health: The city council has cooperated with the county Health Dept. in issuing regulations about food-handling and garbage to combat filth-born diseases. The chief health problem is venereal disease control although T.B. control is still a real problem. A unique service for Tennessee is revealed by the "home delivery" service of the Health Department, which aided in the births of half the babies born during the war period. The private hospital in Milan has only half adequate bed space. Extensions of both water and sewerage systems were necessitated because of health hazards.

Public Welfare: The Welfare Department was able to drop many aid-to-dependent-children cases but not the assistance to the aged, who as a group did not profit from the influx of industry. Rather significant is the observation

that juvenile delinquency was no greater than in pre-war days although it rose during the time of the plant's construction.

Recreation: During 1943, Milan citizens undertook to carry on a recreation program for plant workers and soldiers from Camp Tyson, 42 miles away. They were aided by U.S.O. personnel and funds. The U.S.O. program in 1944 seemed to be functioning better for the Negro population. There was a need for more rounded schedule of activities for the young people and children, and a more extensive recreation program for the town as a whole. Commercial facilities include two motion picture theatres, several pool halls, a bowling alley, and skating rink. The well-equipped high school gymnasium and athletic field were not used by the community in general.

The housing shortage in Milan is critical even though the F.H.A. built a unit of 10 houses, the F.W.A. with Lanham funds built some 25 houses, as well as private citizens who rushed construction in the early days of 1941. An interesting effect of the shortage is the many Negro families (27 percent of the 1940 population) forced out of Milan by the influx of white population, and homes once occupied by Negroes became dwellings for whites.

Mobile: Industrial Seaport and Trade Center. By Edward L. Ullman. Chicago: **B-65** University of Chicago. (Ph.D. dissertation in Geography), 1943. Pp. 167.

Theme or purpose: "A case study in the areal support of cities" to provide basic material for planning business and government.

This study took 5 months' field work supported by library research.

Mobile's metropolitan population: 114,906 in 1940.* It is a trade center, port, and industrial city. The 36.9 percent increase in county population for a 2-year period was the largest of any urban area in the United States for that period. In 1930, 36 percent of the population was Negro.

Chapter headings: The City and the Problem (descriptive); Evolution of the City (Historic); Site of Mobile (topography); Mobile and Its Supporting Areas (resort and fishing communities, forests, agriculture of coastal plain, port hinterland); Major Functions and their Localization in the City (occupational structure of population, land use); Transportation and Its Effect on the City (ocean, intracoastal and inland waterway trade, railroads, highways, electricity and natural gas, balance of trade—traffic movement, freight rates). Descriptive passages give something of the distinctive flavor of Mobile—"new and old, rich and poor, 19th Century mansions . . . gas stations, southern in culture but" the foreign atmosphere of ports, reminiscent of French colonial days but less so than New Orleans, an important port before the Civil War but dormant from then until a spurt of growth in the 1930's. The author is impressed by the natural beauties of the city, especially the large, moss-draped oaks and magnolias for which the sidewalks detour—"one realizes that the huge trees are important to Mobile . . . azaleas are the pride of the city. . . . The attention given to flowers, as evidenced by the Azalea Trail . . . is probably Mobile's finest civic achievement."

Economic: Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits support the largest number of Mobile workers, with domestic and personal service next, then trade,

*Population of Mobile within corporate limits: 68,202 in 1930; 78,720 in 1940. Negro population in 1940: 29,046 or 36.9 percent of the total.

with transportation and communication in 4th place. Mobile's 15 percent of workers in transportation is larger than for most American cities, especially significant if the figures are corrected to include many mechanical and clerical workers around railroad yards and docks. This correction would allow 20 percent to transportation, or "slightly more important in Mobile's occupational structure than primarily manufacturing, and emerges as the most important primary support." Mobile ranks 97th in size among U. S. cities but only 119th in volume of retail trade, a wide discrepancy. Mobile has a "fairly well balanced occupational structure with primary emphasis on transportation and secondary emphasis on manufacturing, with relative lack of emphasis on retail and some service occupations," which "mirrors the geographical situation."

A significant feature of this study is an analysis of the weight balance of trade as an index in the city's character. Tables summarize (in terms of tonnage) net inbound, outbound, and total movements by all forms of transportation, which "gives the total commerce at Mobile as well as the balance of trade." Inbound land traffic is more than twice the outbound, partly counterbalanced by greater outbound than inbound ocean shipments. Total inbound movement is almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ times outbound, not excessive in view of city needs as well as the greater weight of raw materials over finished products. Small weight loss within the city may be explained by the fact that Mobile is a transshipment point from land to sea.

Mobile guards her interests by taking a vigorous part in (freight) rate revision hearings as the rate structure is affected by conditions and new forms of transportation.

Educational: Elementary schools are scattered throughout the city. The one high school for whites is in the far western part of Mobile in badly crowded buildings. Another high school is needed in the industrial suburbs.

Religious: The many white churches are slightly concentrated near the business center; the Negro churches are scattered through Negro districts.

Recreation: Mobile's only parks are a few small tracts, mostly one block square, more garden spots than centers of recreational activity. The city needs a large park, but suitable waterfront sites are scarce.

Housing: Recent white and Negro housing projects have relieved slum conditions somewhat but slum areas of flimsy shacks remain, particularly in Negro districts, encouraged by the low wage scale. There are few apartments, and medium type houses as well as rooming houses are often rundown relics of elegance.†

B-66 *Intermont: Economic and Institutional Life in a Small Community.* By William P. Taylor. Charlottesville: University of Virginia (Master's Thesis), 1933. Pp. 136.

Theme or purpose: Study of economic, governmental, and church life in a small industrialized community in western Virginia.

This is a case study of a community, which, even though disguised, is recognizable as the town of Narrows, Giles County, Virginia (population—1,345 in 1930), a mountain town of diversified industries located on 2 railroads. The

†Digester's note: Of 199 cities in the United States with 50,000 or more inhabitants, Mobile is in the worst (lowest) percentile as to room overcrowding or 14.9 percent of its housing with more than 1.5 persons per room. The United States average is 5.4 percent.

first 6 chapters are devoted to descriptive rhetoric on the town's location, its history and relationship to surrounding communities, the attitudes and personalities of some of the leading residents. After this rather informal orientation, the author devotes the last 3 chapters to the economic, governmental, and church life of Intermont.

Economic: Intermont (Narrows, Va.) is a small, incorporated town located by a gorge where a mountain river breaks through the Blue Ridge. The railroad's electric power plant nearby on the river is one of the town's leading industries and furnishes power for two others. A lumber mill, a hosiery mill, a flour mill, bottling works, and a steam laundry besides the power plant represent an unusual amount of industrial diversification for a town of 1,500. Intermont also contains 18 wholesale and retail businesses, which have a trade area with a radius of 75 miles. The town is caught between the larger trade areas of Bluefield, W. Va., and Roanoke, Va. It also competes with the nearby county seat in service facilities like movies and beauty parlors. A tannery, closed by the time of the study, had been the first and chief industrial influence in the town.

There are two dominant occupational patterns in Intermont: a family pattern for farm and mill work and an individual one for business and the professions. The two main sources of income are the hosiery mill and the power plant.

Government: The town of Intermont was incorporated under a mayor-council form of government in 1904. There is a large turnover of officials in each election perhaps because of the close control exercised by the citizens. The town has one policeman, but most of its law enforcement is closely connected with the county set-up, particularly with the sheriff. During the period which this study covers (pre-Repeal), the hardest problem of law enforcement was in the making and selling of liquor. The law violation which did not go against the mores of the people of Intermont often went unpunished. Narcotic-peddling is also a subtle evil in Intermont, which goes unpunished. Traffic regulations, put in force in 1929, were being disregarded in 1932. Sexual irregularity is the offense which the community condemns most.

Religion: The church though pushed somewhat into the background is still a dominant influence in Intermont. This may not mean active participation, but it means that business or social success is impossible for anyone who is openly antagonistic to the church. There are seven churches in Intermont, a decided "over-churching" in the opinion of the author. Although five of the churches have memberships of less than 100, several of the townspeople express a preference for a small church where there is more individual recognition and participation. The influence of the church, its continuing strength is at no time more apparent than during the annual revivals held by the various congregations which are important enough to change the whole town's social life so that people can attend.

There is considerable rivalry and proselyting among a few of the seven congregations. Three of the seven have to be helped now by grants of \$350 from their respective home mission boards. The author cannot see how all seven of the individual churches can survive for many more years, but emphasizes the influence of the church in providing the human heart with something it needs. The replies of 317 men out of 320 whom the author asked concerning the church attest to this.

- B-67** Community Welfare Planning. By Walter L. Stone. Nashville: Council of Social Agencies, 1941. Pp. 93 (mimeographed).

Theme or purpose: Community self-diagnosis.

The study includes statistical and descriptive analyses of findings, recommendations, and results of a social welfare planning program. The 47 items of findings emphasize lack of coordination between welfare, educational, leisure-time, and character building agencies, and lack of adaptation to changing conditions. The church is mentioned only once, as follows: "recreation service stations scattered all over the city in schools, churches, and settlements are needed."

In this record of Nashville's experience in self-diagnosis, organization, and social planning, Nashville sees itself as "an interracial community, politically, educationally, and religiously self-conscious, with outstanding leaders of both the progressive and conservative schools of thought, hampered somewhat by loyalty to tradition but recognizing that its position of leadership among mid-southern communities imposes obligation of being worthy of this confidence."

Trained leadership is emphasized as being more important than equipment, with the suggestion that a plan be worked out for utilization of colleges and training agencies in the community. Health, child dependency, and recreation lead in number of items recommended.

Significant results were:

Reallocation of responsibility

Better records

Provision for a continuous research and planning service

Enlargement of Council of Social Agencies to include civic clubs and become Council of Community Agencies

Establishment of Neighborhood Coordinating Councils

An orphanage displaced for a foster home care program

Another orphanage restricted to nursing care

Camps and other recreation sponsored by Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., and Y.W.H.A.

Establishment of a neighborhood house by a Presbyterian Church

Vanderbilt Law students helped in Legal Aid

More public health work

More training for recreation leaders

More vocational training in schools

- B-68** The German Settlers in Nashville, Tennessee. By Phyllis E. Hahn. Nashville: Vanderbilt University. (Master's Thesis), 1935.

Theme or purpose: A study of German migrations to Nashville.*

Case studies, involving several hundred people in 44 families, cover such things as German birthplace; reasons for coming to the United States and to Nashville; occupation; social, religious, and civic activities in Nashville. "A summary of these data has shown not only a fair cross-section of German life in Nashville but also a picture of German-Americanizing." "Available data" concerning Germans in the city were studied. In the absence of historic material,

*Digester's note: From the abstract it is not clear whether this is wholly historic or may have some present day value.

"evidence of activities" is presented, such as that of early church organizations (Methodist, Catholic, Lutheran), and 12 secular organizations which are mainly social.

Comparative Analysis of Official Juvenile Delinquency Cases in Nashville.* **B-69**
By James L. Powell. Nashville: Vanderbilt University (Master's Thesis), 1936.

Theme or purpose: A comparative study of Juvenile delinquency.

The Juvenile Court handled 1,500 cases in the period 1931-33, slightly less than for 31 cities reporting to the Children's Bureau in 1928, and less than in Nashville in 1924-26, due to an increased number dealt with out of court.

There were more Negro delinquents than white, more boys than girls. Stealing was the predominant type of offense and disorderly conduct made up about one-fourth of the cases. Incurrigibility and assault were low in total volume. Stealing was primarily a male offense; incurrigibility, delinquency, and sex were dominant for the girls. There was no seasonal variation.

These findings agreed substantially with those of the earlier Nashville study and the Children's Bureau study. Some differences were that in Nashville more delinquents were placed on probation and committed to institutions than in the Children's Bureau study. In Nashville probations declined and commitments increased as age increased, where the Children's Bureau statistics showed increase of probation with increase of age. The largest number of probations was for disorderly conduct. There was a higher percentage of commitments for incurrigible offenses in Nashville.

A Survey of the Negro Boy in Nashville, Tennessee. By W. D. Weatherford, **B-70**
editor. New York: Association Press, 1932. Pp. 157.

Theme or purpose: To inform social agencies of the needs of Negro boys.

This is a survey by the Y.M.C.A. Graduate school. Among important details of method and discovery were the following:

340 Junior High School boys: physical and medical examinations.

679 boys: study of economic and educational status.

679 boys plus 359 juvenile court cases: study of home life.

Some of the above boys: study of social attitudes and recreation.

All Negro school boys: religious participation tabulated.

A full survey of religious activities could not be made through the churches because there was no ministers' organization through which to make an approach.

The largest amount of religious participation was between ages 8 and 12; considerable between 6 and 15; very little above 17 years. There was great variation in Sunday School attendance by boys from different public schools indicating a complexity of factors other than age as having a bearing on interest in Sunday School. In only one school did church attendance outrank Sunday School. "Churches have been altogether too slow in making use of (young

*Population of Nashville: 153,866 in 1930; 167,402 in 1940. Population of Nashville Metropolitan district: 209,422 in 1930; and 241,769 in 1940.

people's church club or special service) in their program of character and religious development" as indicated by low percentages reported. Attendance data was found to be more satisfactory than observable results.

B-71 *Racial Disorganization in a Southern City.* By Harlan W. Gilmore. Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1931. Pp. 70.

Theme or purpose: To study social disorganization in a Southern city (Nashville) as it is divided between the white and Negro groups.*

This study of Nashville is not only an attempt to throw light on the social disorganization of a biracial city, but also an experimental statistical analysis to discover interrelations between certain factors of disorganization. The factors on which it was possible to get data in 1931 were the child population, the size of families, juvenile delinquency, dependency, natural increase, number of births and infant mortality. These were applied to the problem of disorganization, not to show cause and effect but to make comparison between population units possible.

The author is interested in testing the theories worked out by Park and Burgess in Chicago, as applied to a Southern city.

A restricted area in Nashville is used for the study, including all classes of the white and Negro races. Areas of greatest and least disorganization are included. The findings of the study indicate that the widest variations in disorganization exist among the area units; therefore when disorganization is studied for the city as a whole or for one racial group as a whole, the findings are not as valuable as a study by census tracts. To get a true understanding of disorganization in a Southern city, it is necessary also to consider the white and Negro culture groups separately. Factors which tend to be associated in the whole population do not always remain so for the separate racial groups.

Taking the city as a whole, not all the factors mentioned above are associated. It is true, however, that as the percentage of Negro population increases, dependency, natural increase of population, and infant mortality are increased. The statistical relationship between economic dependency and delinquency is not high except in the most dependent areas.

In the white population, the picture is different. Dependency and delinquency are associated. White areas of the least dependency show a lower birth rate, a smaller amount of infant mortality, smaller number of children per family, and a smaller rate of natural increase. Concerning the Negro population in Nashville, the data seem to indicate that the segregation of living in class groups has not advanced as far as in the white population. Dependency seems a chronic condition distributed throughout the whole Negro group. The Negro population does not show the extremes of disorganization at either end of the scale that the whites do.

When the dependency and delinquency factors were plotted on a map for white, Negro and total population, it was found that all these factors except Negro dependency, which is diffused, center in the areas adjacent to the central business district, verifying the theory that disorganization in cities follows the pattern of concentration in the transitional neighborhoods surrounding the

*Population of Nashville: 153,866 in 1930; 167,402 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Nashville: 209,422 in 1930; 241,769 in 1940.

downtown section. Nashville shows certain modifications which reflect its topography and history of population distribution.

Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class. By Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner. Directed by W. Lloyd Warner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. 558. B-72

Theme or purpose: "To understand the social structure and customs of Negroes and whites" of a southern city.*

Method: two years of field study by four Harvard-trained anthropologists, a Negro man and wife and a white man and wife, three of whom were native Southerners, who lived respectively in the Negro and white sections of the city among people of their own social class and participated freely in all sorts of community activities. The book is the result of their joint experiences and recorded observations of group behavior; unguided conversation as well as planned interviews, together with statistical data and newspaper accounts. The work was financed by the Committee on Industrial Physiology of Harvard University and the Rosenwald Fund; technical aid was given by the statistical laboratory of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University and by the W.P.A.

"Old City," population above 10,000 with over 50 percent Negroes and with 80 percent Negroes in the surrounding rural areas, is a trade center for cotton counties which in pre-Civil War days supported plantation aristocracy and Mississippi River commerce. The authors divide the inhabitants into white and Negro castes which are rigidly separated as to family life, associations, cliques and churches, and touch only slightly in the economic sphere; and within the color-castes, which share disproportionately in labor, education, and government, are social classes less clearly defined than the castes but which serve to organize individuals and groups on a basis of higher and lower status, and thus restrict intimate social access. Both caste and class systems are changing but still observably persistent.

Chapter Headings: (Part I) System of Color-Castes; Class Systems of the White Caste; The White Upper-Class Family; The White Middle-Class Family; The White Lower-Class Family; Social Cliques of the White Society; Social Mobility within the White Caste; Social Cliques in the Colored Caste; Class System of the Colored Caste. (Part II) General View of the Economic System; Caste, Class, and Control of Land; Division of Labor in Cotton Economy; Financing the Production of Cotton; Income from Cotton; How the Negro Tenant Lives; Intimidation of Labor; The Plantation in Its Social Setting; Caste, Class, and Urban Economy; Relation between Caste and Economic Systems; Caste, Class, and Government.

Economic: As the chapter headings indicate, Part II is concerned largely with economic aspects of cotton culture, mostly of a rural nature, except for Chapter XX, Caste, Class, and Urban Economy. It is pointed out that Old City controls the financial structure of Old County through its credit agencies, which also exert political pressure. In the city occupational relationships are more complex than in rural areas, since both races sometimes work on the same job. However, occupational caste taboos operate to keep Negroes out of white collar jobs, out of more highly skilled and highly paid jobs, out of money-

*Identified as Natchez, Mississippi.

handling or prestige-giving jobs. The descendants of domestic servants and artisans constitute the bulk of colored upper-classes, largely as a result of patronage from white employers, but present-day colored servants have lost status as menial workers for low wages.

Education: Emigration from county to city, and out to other parts of the country, has been influenced by Negro education which is also changing the caste and economic systems. Education or professional status are criteria for rising to a higher class. Among whites, "old school ties are a significant factor in clique solidarity among adults in Old City" but today's school children make fewer social distinctions, pass more freely across class lines.

Religion: A church is sometimes the means of social mobility whereby a whole group, by patterning its behavior upon that of a higher class, raises its status as individuals of the group had been unable to do. Tables show the effect of church affiliation in creating or strengthening social cliques among whites. Mobile individuals leave Baptist or Methodist churches for Presbyterian or Episcopal, which are more lenient toward drinking, dancing, smoking, gambling, flirting; in such mobility occurs a lessening of church associations, in fact, among the upper class it is not good form to be much concerned over the Sunday School or the missionary society. Conversely, as individuals of the lower class begin to rise in the social scale they become more interested in religious teachings and activities, participate in the Salvation Army or Methodist Mission, perhaps later join a middle class church "in order to break their old class identity."

The Negro church seemed to the authors a conservative force; "no preacher in either the rural or urban community was ever heard to complain in his pulpit against the plantation system," rather the *status quo* was accepted as having divine sanction and destitution the result of thriftlessness or sin, not the economic system.

- B-73** "The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case of Ecology." by Harlan W. Gilmore. *American Sociological Review* (August 1944). Pp. 385-394.

Theme or purpose: To show interrelationship of topography, ethnic invasions, and changing ecological patterns.

New Orleans before drainage had a topography like two saucers placed together, most desirable land being the rims of the swampy lower land. The historic tension between Creole and American evolved two separate sections, which expanded first into a T-shaped configuration because of topographical limits; but since 1917 have been changing to the more usual concentric zone pattern of the American city because of the drainage system, the street car, and the automobile.

Building and real estate values are so high that good neighborhoods do not decay as rapidly as in most cities.

- B-74** A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community. By Julian B. Feibleman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania (Ph.D. Dissertation), 1941. Pp. 157.

Theme or purpose: A study of New Orleans Jews projected against the larger community.

This is an historic, demographic, and economic study using statistical methods. Sections of the study include a history of religious, social, and philanthropic

growth since the original 18th century settlement in New Orleans of Spanish Jews.

In 1938 the Jews numbered 6,472 or 3.5 percent of the whole population. Fully literate in contrast to the high Louisiana rate of illiteracy, a large proportion speak French, some speak Yiddish. The Jewish community is closely integrated while active in objectives of civic progress.

Religion: there are six congregations, including three orthodox. The dominant influence is now social, not religious. Social organization is "encrusted in institutionalism." Some leaders now in charitable and cultural activities are not affiliated with a religious body. Once it was impossible to belong to a social club without having membership in a congregation. Communal loss results from this uncoordinated, volunteer effort, "undoubtedly a substitution for the unrecognized religious urge, or possibly a sublimation reached above the precincts of institutionalism . . . and contributes to the eclat of the dominant group."

"Religious significance can no longer claim more than half-hearted recognition in communal participation, in spite of fairly large membership." Lines are breaking down between Reform and Orthodox fellowships.

New Orleans Jews form a unique culture group, proud of their contribution to the community, with no criminality and little dependency.* Members are prominent as officials and board members of professional, civic, and artistic groups. The socially elite mingle with the Christian Community to an unusual extent, but get no invitations to Mardi Gras balls, though a Jew originated the New Orleans Carnival and was the first Rex.

"One cannot say there is a distinct Jewish culture in New Orleans. There is rather a distinct New Orleans culture of which the Jewish community is a part." There is considerable intermarriage and complete absorption.

New Orleans City Guide. Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the City of New Orleans (American Guide Series). Robert Maestri, Cooperating Sponsor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1938. Pp. 430. B-75

Theme or purpose: A guidebook, not only to points of interest but to the history, heritage, and atmosphere of cosmopolitan New Orleans.†

While this book, and others in the American Guide Series, is not technically a community study, and is written for popular consumption, it does give not only a factual picture but the distinctive flavor of a unique city. It was compiled by a group of young writers and researchers whose work was often as much a patriotic dedication as it was a means of livelihood; it was watched over and guided by the state's brightest literary lights; it was encouraged by "solid citizens" from the mayor to the Garden Clubs and Carnival Committees. It is to be expected that such a "study" would put its best foot forward; it can also be safely said that few New Orleans enterprises ever had greater cooperation

*See "The Role of Institutionalized Religion in Ethnic Groups of Dallas," by Dan Dodson, 1936.

†Population of New Orleans, 458,762 in 1930; 494,537 in 1940. Population of metropolitan New Orleans 494,877 in 1930; 540,030 in 1940. In 1940, the Negro population was 30.1 percent. In 1930 the foreign-born population was 19,681; native whites with foreign or mixed parentage, 65,766.

from a talented group representative of many of the Crescent City's diverse social, racial, artistic elements.

In addition to general information of interest to travellers, such as hotel and restaurant accommodations, church guide, recreational facilities and night life, sectional descriptions and tours; the historic, economic, and social development of the city are described under such headings as government; racial distribution; commerce; industry, and labor; transportation; folkways; education; religion; sports and recreation; literature; theater; music; architecture; Creole cuisine (including recipes from famous restaurants); The Carnival; cemeteries; Negro cults; gardens.

In addition to the New Orleans City Guide the following books have been published in the American Guide Series of the W.P.A. Writers' Projects, having Southern cities as subjects:

Augusta. Compiled and written by the Augusta Unit. Sponsored by the City Council of Augusta. Tidwell Printing Supply Co., Augusta, Ga. 1938. Pp. 218.

Savannah. Compiled and written by the Savannah Unit. Chamber of Commerce, Savannah, Ga. 1937. Pp. 208.

Atlanta, a City of the Modern South. Sponsored by the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta. New York: Smith and Durrell, 1942. Pp. 266.

Lexington and the Blue Grass Country. Sponsored by the City of Lexington, Kentucky. Commercial Printing Co., Lexington. 1938. Pp. 149.

Raleigh, Capital of North Carolina. Raleigh Sesquicentennial Comm., Raleigh, N. C. 1942. Pp. 170.

Seeing St. Augustine. Sponsored by City Commission of St. Augustine, Fla. St. Augustine: Chamber of Commerce. 1937. Pp. 73.

Guide to Key West. Sponsored by Florida State Planning Board. New York: Hastings House. 1941. Pp. 122.

Jefferson's Albemarle: A Guide to Albemarle County and the City of Charlottesville, Virginia. Sponsored by Charlottesville and Albemarle County Chamber of Commerce. Charlottesville: Jarman's, Inc. 1941. Pp. 157.

Beaumont: a Guide to the City and Its Environs. Sponsored by Beaumont (Texas) Post 1806, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S. Houston: Anson Jones Press. Pp. 167.

Corpus Christi: a History and Guide. Sponsored by Corpus Christi (Texas) Chamber of Commerce. Corpus Christi Caller-Times. 1942. Pp. 245.

Houston: History and Guide. Sponsored by Harris County Historical Society, Inc. Houston: Anson Jones Press, 1942. Pp. 363.

San Antonio: History and Guide. Sponsored by San Antonio Conservation Society. San Antonio: Clegg Co. 1941. Pp. 111.

Our Washington: a Comprehensive Album of the Nation's Capital in Words and Pictures. Sponsored by Guild's Committee for Federal Writer's Publications, Inc. (prepared by Joseph Gaer). Chicago: McClurg. 1939. Pp. 179.

Washington, D. C.: a Guide to the Nation's Capital. Sponsored by George Washington University. New York: Hastings House. 1942. Pp. 528.

Planned Parenthood Services in Four North Carolina Health Departments. **B-76**
By Grace Woodward Welch. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina
(Master's Thesis), 1946. Pp. 151.

Theme or purpose: To explore the functioning of "planned parenthood" clinics in four of the larger cities of North Carolina.* Another purpose of this study is to render a small research service to the State Board of Health.

These four cities herein referred to are located in different sections of the state. The choice of clinics was made by the State Board of Health partly because records were known to be comparatively complete in these clinics.

As of March 1946, all but 9 of the 93 counties having organized health services participated in this program of maternal and child health. (The objectives of this program are to reduce the high infant and mother death rate, to decrease the high birth rate among dependent families and to introduce child spacing as a health measure. Also, it endeavors to increase the birth rates among those physically, mentally, and financially able to bear and rear children). In 8 of the 9 counties not offering this service, shortage of personnel is the only obstacle. Only one county health officer in the state opposes the program.

The author's method included visitation, close observation, interviews, analysis of records, and the use of a case history form. She had the full cooperation of the clinics concerned. Her specially arranged case history form included the following items:

1. Who referred the patient.
2. The reason given for referral.
3. The ages of patient and husband.
4. The race of patient and husband.
5. The occupation of patient and husband.
6. The residence of the family (rural or urban).
7. The economic status of the family.
8. The number of years married.
9. The number of people in the household.
10. The number of rooms occupied by the family.
11. The previous contraceptive history.
12. The previous pregnancy history.
13. The date of first patient-clinic contact. The dates of all subsequent clinic and home visits.
14. The supplies given to the patient.

*At this writing (summer, 1946) the names of the cities are not to be revealed but at a later date it is probable that their identity can be made known to those who wish such specifics.

In February, 1937, the Planned Parenthood Service was approved and placed in the Division of Preventive Medicine along with the Maternal and Child Health Program.

15. All pregnancies planned or unplanned during clinic contact.
16. The reasons given by patients for non-use of supplies.
17. The reasons for ending of patient-clinic contact.

By race, the distribution of patients was 674 white, 382 Negro, totalling 1,056 for the four cities. One of these clinics treated white people only although there is no comparable Negro clinic in the city. Two of the clinics are non-segregated. The fourth clinic is segregated, different days and different buildings being utilized.†

The author discovered only one minister who had any active interest in this birth control aspect of the Maternal and Child Health program. The following table taken from p. 15 of the thesis gives the source of the referrals for the 1,056 women patients by race.

<i>Referred by</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	
Publicity	3	1	4
Physician	210	22	232
Nurse	343	298	641
Social Agency	16	20	36
Old Patient	68	5	73
Self	12	7	19
Friend	17	18	35
Relative	8	7	15
Midwife	2	3	5
Health Officer	4	3	7
Hospital		1	1
Other	1		1
No Data	17		17
Total	701	385	1,086

The contents by chapters (after the first two which are introductory with explanation of procedures used in clinic study) give the general substance of the work which the author gives in considerable detail by tables and discussion in the body of each chapter. Chapters 3 to 7 are respectively: Referral; Age, Occupation, Residence, Economic Status, and Room-person Ratios of Patients; Previous Contraceptive and Pregnancy History; Contraceptive Supplies Given, Clinic-Patient Contact and Clinic Failures; and Summary.

†Digester's note: In one of the non-segregated clinics there is complete freedom from segregation even to the point where a Negro nurse gives instructions to both whites and Negroes.

Out of 111 tables, the following abbreviated findings are here included:

FROM TABLE 17 (Age Distribution of 1,056 Women Patients)

<i>Age of Women</i>	<i>No. of Women</i>
17-19	63
20-22	158
23-25	225
26-28	194
29-31	154
32-34	120
35-37	70
38-40	39
41-43	21
44 and 45	3
No data	9
	1,056

This table in the thesis separated the data for Negro and white and gives the items by each year of age.

FROM TABLE 25 (Occupational Distribution of 1,056 women patients by race)

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>		
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Housewife	622	358	980
Factory	23	4	27
Store	9	.....	9
Farm	1	3	4
Restaurant	2	3	5
White Collar	3	2	5
Domestic .....	.....	10	10
Service	1	.....	1
W.P.A.	4	1	5
No data	9	1	10
Total	674	382	1,056

FROM TABLE 41 (Residence Distribution of 1,056 women patients by race)

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>		
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Urban	327	202	529
Rural	335	176	511
No data	12	4	16
Total	674	382	1,056

FROM TABLE 49 (Economic Status of 1,056 women patients by race)

<i>Economic Status</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>		
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Poverty	152	152	304
Necessities	420	226	646
Comfort	48	.....	48
No data	54	4	58
Total	674	382	1,056

A condensation of Table 57 on Room-person Ratios shows that 51 percent of the total number are overcrowded (more than 1.5 persons per room). Overcrowding among Negroes is more serious: 63 percent as compared with the whites, 42.3 percent.

North Carolina has one of the highest birth rates in the United States and likewise one of the highest infant death rates. Many of the mothers who are most endangered by pregnancy and whose offspring have the poorest chance of survival should never have become pregnant since their past history indicated definite medical hazard. The problem here as everywhere has been to find procedure acceptable to medicine, eugenics, sociology, law, and religion and one that at the same time is satisfactory and effective for the individual.

B-77 Social Problems in a North Carolina Parish. By Edwin R. Hartz. Durham: Duke University (Master's Thesis), 1938. Pp. 149.

Theme or purpose: Mainly to study attitudes in a small North Carolina mill village.

"Potterville" is a pseudonym given by the author, a student pastor, to a mill village of 700 people adjacent to a trade center of 4,000 people a mile away.

Because most of its people came from farms it retains more rural attributes than many small industrial villages—gardens and pigs, fundamentalist religion, prejudice against outsiders, lack of plumbing or central heating. Thus it

straddles urban-rural classification, would take a careful check of indices to determine where it belongs.

The author was student pastor for three years in the Methodist church, made the study largely by informal interview and personal contacts with his parish. It is mainly a study of attitudes, rather than a counting of bathtubs, might have value for any "outsider" whose business or profession takes him to mill villages, or even for citizens of nearby towns who want to get on with "Potterville."

Chapter headings include: the community and its inhabitants (descriptive since there were no records); occupational conditions; housing and health; education and recreation; religion in Potterville.

"Once inside the village the people found themselves growing like each other in interests, beliefs, traditions and sentiments. Their institutions and organizations tended to create homogeneity and like-mindedness among them. They brought with them (from tenant farms) a hopeless feeling, a low economic and social status and a general feeling of inferiority which persist among their children. . . . The problem of enriching the lives of these people is by no means solved. There is little in the factory village to develop spiritual attitudes. The churches have not developed a comprehensive program for social betterment. . . . The churches in the village have not found themselves or adjusted their programs to the philosophy of the mill people."

The author thinks the church cannot do much about social or economic problems, as wages, housing, but the churches "cooperatively" can and should encourage more interest in education, better recreation, aid welfare and health agencies, and "supply a dynamic religion providing both a philosophy of life and a program for action adjusted to the daily needs of inhabitants of a cotton mill community."

Raleigh Recreation Commission's First Annual Report (research interpretation by Lee M. Brooks). Raleigh, N. C.: Raleigh Recreation Commission, 1938. Pp. 22 (mimeographed).*

B-78

Theme or purpose: To determine recreation interests and needs of Raleigh's children.

This is a summary of progress in a year's community-wide recreation program with a report of a recreation survey.

Some subjects reported; W.P.A. Recreation Project, Playgrounds operated, Outline of Playground Program, Negro Playground Program, Attendance, Report of Recreation Survey, Recommendations.

From October 1937 to September 1938 the Recreation Commission operated two white and three Negro playgrounds (nine were started but four were closed for economy and efficiency), a lighted softball field, archery range, boxing tournament. Equipment and leadership were also furnished for five churches, Y.W.C.A. and Salvation Army, two schools, and other groups providing recreational activities.

The recreation survey, continued by questionnaire among 888 white and 382 Negro children, revealed that 4th to 11th grade Negro and white boys

*Population of Raleigh: 37,379 in 1930; 46,897 in 1940.

were most interested in Archery, Music, Bowling, Tennis, Crafts, Camping. Girls of the same ages were most interested in Music, Tennis, Camping, Basket Ball, Swimming, Archery, Art, Bowling. What children actually did by way of recreation and what they wanted to do were analyzed.

According to Children's preferences, more attention should be given at all ages to instrumental music; outings and camping. For Negro children, more attention should be given to Tennis, Swimming, Basket Ball. White children would like more Crafts and Art. Older children would like more Tennis and Archery. "Interests of boys and girls vary only slightly between sexes, ages, and races."

Some recommendations: Leadership should be more emphasized than facilities. Some schools should be used as community centers. Recreation areas should be set aside in each housing project, in proportion to size. There should be a citywide survey to prepare a longterm recreation plan and to set aside potential recreation areas. In a suggested outline for such a survey, Private and Semi-Public Recreation Agencies were included, as Boy and Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A. and Y.M.H.A.

Church Recreation: "What are churches doing to provide recreation for their own membership? What . . . to support a city-wide, year-round system of public recreation?"

B-79 *Zion Town—A Study in Human Ecology*. By Howard H. Harlan. Charlottesville: University of Virginia (Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, No. 13), 1935, Pp. 65.

Theme or purpose: Interracial interdependencies in the Richmond Urban-rural area.

The hypothesis is that high-grade urban areas such as white Westhampton tend to have a Negro settlement such as Negro Zion Town (rural) near-by. Zion Town is a sample of some seven such satellite neighborhoods. The study shows how Negro and white neighborhoods can be together economically and separate in social organizational interactions.

With several hundred in population, unified by tradition, rural or semi-rural in culture, Zion Town is (at the time of study) a stable neighborhood. It has little social stratification, status depending on such factors as education, intelligence, age, types of community service rendered, and somewhat on white conventions. It is a primary contact neighborhood, informal and close-knit.

The church is "the focus of religious life, . . . the chief means of adult education, . . . the center around which most leisure activities are organized, . . . a sort of clearing house for the morals and philosophic impulses of the people." Church services are held every other Sunday; Sunday school is active but does not hold young people after the fourteenth year. Denied broad range participation because of their submerged life, the church affords a chance for recognition, for relaxation from strain; serves as an escape from reality through emotional activities and ecstasies over "otherworldly" sermons.

Leisure activities are mainly visiting, reading newspapers, automobiling, and participation in lodge and church groupings. Intra-neighborhood life centers in home, lodge, and church. They earn their living in Westhampton but their fullness of living is in Zion Town and its rural surroundings.

Sociological Analysis of a Coal-Mining Community. By Edna Ross Strong. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press (Master's Thesis), 1943. Pp. 222. **B-80**

Theme or purpose: Functional study of a typical Virginia coal-mining company town.

Functional "ideals" as set up by the Lynds' *Middletown* are used for this case study of Roda, Virginia (estimated population 1,500), a bituminous coal mining town owned and dominated by the Stonega Coal and Coke Company. Its population composition is 3 mountain whites to 1 Alabama Negro. Social classes, institutions, mobility, and migrations are dealt with in the study.

Economic: This being a single-industry town, it has an economy completely dominated by the coal company. Houses and utilities are provided. There is a company store where "scrip" is accepted. The paternalistic economic relationship has been somewhat modified by the recent ascendancy of the union which maintains a "closed-shop" and gives the miners shorter hours, more regular work and steadier wages. There are in connection with it two cooperative societies to help in sickness and death. Since the advent of the automobile, the company store has lost its trade monopoly.

Education: Roda has a white and a Negro elementary school of 7 grades which are under the control of the county school board and not too much influenced by the company. Teachers usually do not live in the community; and education plays a minor role. A few of the children of the more fortunate class go to college. Anyone going to high school must go to Appalachia.

Religion: The company dominates religion through a white community church governed by Methodist bishops. The opinion is that the Methodist denomination was given control because ministers are changed frequently and the hierarchical church government fits in with company policy. About one-fifth of the white people belong to the church. There are 2 Negro churches which are attended by nearly all the Negroes. Emphasis is on personal salvation rather than the social gospel.

Political: The domination of the company keeps political activity at a minimum except perhaps at union meetings.

Recreation: Although 85 percent of the people own radios, listening to the radio is not a community-wide custom. Reading of magazines and books is at a minimum except for the few managerial families on "Quality Row." Going to town on pay-day is the gala occasion of the miner's routine. Monday after a big pay-day is an accepted time for every man to get drunk. Recreation is incidental and unorganized. Movie going is a universal pastime.

General summary: The institutional life of Roda, Virginia, is completely dominated by the company; and so is the pattern of the town. Built in spurs along the narrow hollows, it clusters around the tipples and the mine openings and the company store which is "Main Street" for Roda. The superintendent assigns the houses and through the years company policy of putting congenial people together has resulted in 8 separate little neighborhoods, in which social stratification is very marked. The houses of the managerial class are the best structures in the community; otherwise the housing is fairly similar. The social distance between the operators and the miners is less because they live in a primary, face-to-face relationship; but it is always present. The union has

tended to impersonalize the manager-labor relations, but the company town remains largely paternalistic.

- B-81** *The Social and Economic Conditions of Garment Workers in St. Louis.* By Charles Prince. St. Louis: Washington University (Master's thesis), 1932. Pp. 101.

Theme or purpose: To study the conditions and costs of living for a group of garment workers in St. Louis in 1932.

This thesis is based on certain general hypotheses concerning costs of living worked out by the German sociologist Engel. The author uses both the statistical and case methods in his attempt to ascertain the plane of living and living costs of a selected sample of 45 St. Louis garment workers' families.

In 1932 this occupational group was chiefly Jewish and the heads of the families foreign-born.

The average age of the father was 44 and of the mother, 40. Daughters living at home averaged 15 years, and sons 11.

The income levels of the families studied ranged from \$450 to \$3,700 a year.

Most of the group lived in the downtown "ghetto" section and were Orthodox Jewish in their living habits. The study reveals that almost every garment worker chose the occupation because it was the only choice available to him as an immigrant.

Concerning living costs the findings show that in 1932, 36 percent (average) of a garment worker's income was spent for food. Substantiating Engel's hypothesis, as the income increased, the proportion spent for food decreased. Families with grown children working were less well-fed than those supported solely by the father, possibly because grown children insist on more expensive clothes and furniture than their contribution to the family income justifies.

Very little (only 5 percent) was spent by the families on clothes. Many make their own during offseasons. With every increase of \$100 to the family budget, clothes expenditures increase 6 percent, more relatively than any other expenditure increase.

Fuel is the most important expenditure in the operating expenses category, but rent occupies a disproportionate place in the total budget, 41 percent. Only 4 families reported any savings beyond insurance which was the usual provision for the future.

An unusual proportion of family incomes was spent for cultural development. Most families subscribed to one Yiddish paper and two other dailies. Many went to subscription lectures and concerts. Another interesting sidelight on their religious tradition was the contributions to charity which continued in spite of poverty.

- B-82** *An Ecological Study of Mental Disorders in Metropolitan St. Louis.* By William L. J. Dec. St. Louis: Washington University (Masters thesis), 1939. Pp. 131.

Theme or purpose: To discover if the spatial distribution of mental diseases has any relationship to the distribution of certain social conditions.

This study concerns the residence of the mental patients admitted to three public and four private hospitals in St. Louis from 1931 through 1935. It em-

phasizes the four most commonly diagnosed psychoses: schizophrenia, manic-depressive, senile dementia, and paresis, especially schizophrenia which other studies have shown to be most closely related to social factors.

This study is based on other ecological analyses of St. Louis which have shown the blighted areas and those most productive of social pathology are located in the downtown business district and the transitional zone surrounding it. The problem is to discover if mental disorders follow the same ecological pattern as other social pathology, and the findings revealed that the distribution of all the psychotics did follow this general pattern. The schizophrenia distribution fits the ecological pattern only fairly and cannot be said to be conclusively related. The manic-depressive cases are apparently scattered at random through the city, and are not related to the schizophrenia distribution. The paresis distribution shows concentration in the center of the city, but only partially fits the ecological pattern. In short the results were not conclusive. Of the mental disorders, schizophrenia and paresis seem to show some relation to other social pathology.

Youth as a Population Element in St. Louis, 1890-1940.* By St. Louis Youth Commission, 1939. St. Louis, Missouri: From Abstract in *Missouri Surveys* (Missouri State Planning Board, 1940). Pp. 49. **B-83**

Theme or purpose: To show 50-year trend in population and its meaning for youth 15-24 years of age.

This study is an analysis of population statistics of St. Louis, Missouri, for the purpose of understanding the role and influence of youth in the city.

Three important population trends directly affecting youth in St. Louis were discovered. The absolute number of youth has reached its peak (1940) and there will be an actual decrease in youth. The relative number has been decreasing during the past 50 years and will decline for 30 or 40 years before reaching its permanent level. The youth-to-adult ratio has decreased even faster than the relative number of youth and may have reached its lowest level.

Youth migration from rural to urban territory was very strong from 1900-1930; this being the factor which has had most effect on the position of youth in the St. Louis population. Even though in-migration has slowed down the decrease in the relative number of youth, it has not reversed the trend.

White youth are following the same trend as youth as a whole, but Negro youth have increased to four times their number in 1890.

The prediction is that the present and next generation of youth will count far less, numerically, than any preceding ones and that the aging character of the population will tend to reduce the influence of youth in the political and economic life of St. Louis.

*Population of St. Louis: 821,960 in 1930; 816,048 in 1940. Population of metropolitan St. Louis: 1,293,516 in 1930; 1,367,977 in 1940.

- B-84** *Adaptability Among the Elementary Schools of an American City.* By George William Ebey. New York: Columbia University, Teacher's College, Bureau of Publications, 1940.

Theme or purpose: White Elementary School adaptability to the community situation in St. Louis.

This study found that the factors most conducive to adaptability were tied up with areas that the church ideally should affect.

- (1) The principal's educational opinions and background.
- (2) The parental association groups which tended to give stronger support in an economically well-to-do community.
- (3) The Teachers' educational opinions.

- B-85** *Social Stratification Among Negroes in St. Louis.* By Edna Taborn. St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University (Master's Thesis), 1937. Pp. 63.

Theme or purpose: To investigate social stratification among the Negroes of St. Louis.

This thesis describes the Negro community of St. Louis, emphasizing status-determining factors such as occupation, education, income, religion, color, family background, and place of residence. Of these occupations, income and education occupy major place for the Negro society, with color and family background contributing somewhat. Recognized social classes are designated as professional, semi-professional, business and skilled labor, personal service, domestic service and unskilled labor, and the morally delinquent group.

- B-86** *Factors Associated with the Varying Mobility Rates in Middle Class Census Tracts.* By Margaret B. White. St. Louis: Washington University (Masters Thesis), 1938. Pp. 49.

Theme or purpose: To isolate certain factors of urban environment which are associated with mobility.

This thesis selects two census tracts (15A and 16A) in St. Louis* which are very similar in factors but differ in their mobility rankings and attempts to isolate thereby the conditions which are associated with mobility.

The facts discovered by the study which might make people move in and out of census tract 16A more frequently than they do in tract 15A are: unpleasantness of landscape, such as sunken dumping grounds, nearness to unsightly industrial plants, dirt surrounding the buildings and excessive smoke, nauseating odors from industries, irritating industrial noises, recent invasion of foreigners, and an undesirable type of neighbors who work in nearby industries.

Some factors which may account for the comparative stability of 15A are: a preponderance of home owners and neighborly pride in the district; fewer flats and apartments; a large foreign population who readily adjusted their customs to those of the native white population.

*Population of St. Louis: 821,960 in 1930; 816,048 in 1940. Population of metropolitan St. Louis: 1,293,516 in 1930; 1,367,977 in 1940.

St. Louis—Regional Planning, Part II. By the National Resources Committee. **B-87**
Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1936.

Theme or purpose: To study the metropolitan district of St. Louis as a region cutting across state lines so that planning can be done on a regional basis.

This study was made by the National Resources Committee and the St. Louis Regional Planning Commission and covers such factors as the history and resources of the region, its organization past and future, the physical improvements of the region and certain inter-state problems involved in planning. It considers problems of land use, traffic, housing, recreation, etc.

The region of St. Louis contains the city of St. Louis, all of four counties and portions of four additional counties within a 35 mile radius.*

The terrain of the land surrounding makes St. Louis an excellent industrial location for heavy industry which has been developing rapidly. St. Louis itself is a center for several light industries, boot and shoe, meat packing, drugs, printing, bread, and women's clothing.

A survey in land use of the metropolitan district (within a radius of 20 miles) revealed that there is a great lack of park areas (1/3 of the quota) and that elementary schools do not have sufficient playground space. Only 26 of 833 schools come up to the standard size of 5 acres. There is also need for extension of playing fields for high schools and for large outer parks around the city and parkways.

It was found that there are an unnecessary number of government agencies and taxing authorities (695 in the region) which could be consolidated and eliminated. The survey revealed that inadequate control of land subdivisions had resulted in improper location of buildings and inappropriate design. Zoning protection and more land use planning is needed.

In St. Louis more than twice as many houses are rented as are owned whereas the surrounding suburban cities have a great majority of owned homes. The largest areas of undesirable housing are found surrounding the business district in St. Louis and scattered in East St. Louis, where there is less congestion but poorer dwellings. In the slum area in central St. Louis there were 70 percent of the living units with no bath facilities. Only 41 percent had inside toilets.† In E. St. Louis similar conditions were found. The survey revealed social and health conditions are much worse in the slum areas. For example, the number of child delinquents per 100 persons in East St. Louis is three times as great and the number of arrests is 22 times as great as the entire city. The tuberculosis rate is three times as large as the average rate for the entire city. Rehabilitation of blighted districts is one of the most important needs of the St. Louis region.

Since practically all planning by 1936 had been confined to the area within or adjacent to the city of St. Louis and of the 90 incorporated communities in the region, only 17 had any planning activities, the need for planning on a

*Population of St. Louis: 821,960 in 1930; 816,048 in 1940, a decline of 0.7 percent in the central city between 1930 and 1940. Population of metropolitan St. Louis: 1,293,516 in 1930; 1,367,977 in 1940.

†Digester's note: As of the 1940 census, St. Louis showed 31.4 percent of its houses needing major repairs or with no private bath and 9.9 percent of the occupied dwellings as being overcrowded.

regional basis is apparent. For example, 88 percent of the metropolitan district is unprotected by zoning regulations.

- B-88** Juvenile Delinquency and Associated Factors in St. Louis. By John A. Winget. St. Louis: Washington University (Master's Thesis), 1937. Pp. 62.

Theme or purpose: To show the distribution of juvenile court cases in St. Louis.*

In order to provide a more adequate index of delinquency than one based solely on court cases, this study aims to show how the distribution of juvenile court cases relates to other economic and social factors.

For primary data the thesis uses the registration slips of various social agencies reported to the Social Service Exchange, relating these registrations to the court cases of delinquency, showing the geographical distribution of juvenile delinquency and its relation to other social conditions.

The results of the study revealed that there is in St. Louis a marked concentration of juvenile delinquency in particular downtown areas, a pattern which seems to persist over a long period of time in spite of successive invasions by various ethnic groups. These delinquency areas are also characterized by a high incidence of disease, mixed commercial, industrial, and residential land use, old housing, and economic impoverishment. The population structure of these districts shows an excess of males and contains a number of ethnic groups. Those factors which indicate stability in family life (such as a high percentage of married persons and of children, and a large proportion of single dwellings) are absent.

A more intensive study of certain Negro areas indicated a partial explanation of their higher rates in the breakdown of, or failure to develop informal social controls. It also suggested the importance of the urban adjustment of rural migrants in understanding delinquency.

The complexity of the factors involved in juvenile delinquency show that the neighborhood disorganization reflects the larger cultural and social processes which in Clifford Shaw's words "are those processes of cultural conflict and social disorganization incident to the expansion of the city and the movement and segregation of the population."

- B-89** School-Community Relations in Tarboro, North Carolina.† By Julia Little MacGregory. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Master's Thesis). 1943. Pp. 56.

Theme or purpose: To help the school better serve the entire community.

The author, a teacher in Tarboro, seeks to "understand the present school and community situation." The emphasis is educational. Scope and method include a brief social picture of the town by interviews, letters, home visits, historical study, and observations.

Tarboro was incorporated in 1760, is the county seat of an agricultural area of which cotton, tobacco, and peanuts are the chief crops. In addition to mar-

*Population of St. Louis: 821,960 in 1930; 816,048 in 1940. Population of metropolitan St. Louis: 1,293,516 in 1930; 1,367,977 in 1940.

†Population of Tarboro: 6,379 in 1930; 7,148 in 1940.

kets for these crops the town is the home of the Carolina Telephone and Telegraph Company. It has textile mills, peanut processing plants, and a veneer mill. An unusual feature is the Municipal Milk Plant.†

Chapter headings are: The Town of Tarboro, The People of Tarboro, Examples of Schools that have developed an enriched program. . . . Securing Closer Relations Between School and Community in Tarboro.

Economics: Nothing is said directly about the economic status of the town, but it is mentioned that citizens provide "considerable money" for schools to supplement teachers' salaries, provide extra teachers above the state allotment, buildings for Home Economics, Industrial Arts, athletics and auditorium, though not enough is spent in the elementary school "to encourage experimentation and creativeness on the part of both teachers and pupils." Schools have well-equipped lunchrooms. Nothing is said of labor except that industrial workers have interests and organizations apart from the "old families."

Education: Beside the above comments on education it is said that parents have little interest in schools other than providing money, are suspicious of any new method, seldom visit school.

Religion has always played an important part in community life. Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches were established in pre-revolutionary days, and most of the population are members of one of these groups today though other sects are gaining a foothold. The names of these sects are not given but they are of the emotional type and children come to school tired because "they were kept up late the night before to attend a church meeting." Mill workers are developing their own churches and recreation centers which further separates them from the "first families." Some churches provide rooms for Boy and Girl Scouts.

Recreation: There is a community playground, a recreation center with a swimming pool that has competent instructors and lifeguards, a library with a recreation room and kitchen where meetings and socials are held. One of the mill villages maintains a recreation center and churches have rooms for social functions. A ball park adjoins school property and is used by school athletic teams as well as by the local baseball club. Schools also have libraries which cooperate with the town library and reading is "greatly encouraged."

One of the author's suggestions is for a full-time recreational leader to encourage more use of the recreational facilities, since "many children leave school in the afternoons and go directly to the movies, downtown to loaf until mother leaves work or to join the gang in whatever activities they decide upon." She also pleads for a Health and Physical Education program in the schools.

The reader draws the conclusion that Tarboro is an attractive and interesting town but that the leading citizens dwell overmuch on its history, and are complacently satisfied with their performance of civic duties when they appropriate plenty of money for buildings and facilities.

†Digester's note: Some 30 years ago local farmers were unyielding in their opposition to improved methods of handling milk, despite evidence that carelessness had brought milk-borne diseases. The city then started its own milk business which has been continued ever since to the satisfaction of all concerned.

- B-90** *To Stem This Tide—A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States.** By Charles S. Johnson and Associates. (Institute of Social Studies at Fisk University). Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1943. Pp. 142.

Theme or purpose: To show the impact of war conditions on racial tension in the United States.

Attitudes and practices in labor unions, in training for vocations, and other evidences of tension are revealed in this book.

Mixed-race unions exist in Atlanta, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Memphis, and New Orleans, according to the C.I.O., but such mixed organizing is accomplished with difficulty.

For the public vocational training program for defense industries, there was considerable discrimination in training Negroes. Tampa and Birmingham excluded them and their training was limited in Nashville, Atlanta and New Orleans. Most southern plants refused to hire them.

In Charleston County, South Carolina, the tuberculosis rate was reported on a rapid increase since 1941 because of sanitary conditions and non-existent housing for Negro war workers.†

Numerous reports of police brutality are noted for southern cities for alleged infractions of race etiquette. The war and new police recruits seem to have aggravated the situation.

- B-91** *A Transitional Urban Community and Its Educational Implications on an Elementary School Level.* By Robert Wendell Eaves. Washington: George Washington University (Doctoral Dissertation), 1940.

Theme or purpose: To study a Washington, D. C., slum with a view to a more effective elementary school program.

The Thomson school district includes the greatest delinquency area of the city. One-fourth of the school population shows anti-social attitudes because of abnormalities in home life and over-stimulating community atmosphere: petty larceny, gang life, prostitution, largest number of arrests for felonies and misdemeanors.

One-fourth of the children come from dependent families where health conditions are poor; 32 percent of the children on the free lunch list live in basements. Parents of 15 percent of the children are on relief rolls.

The school has to face mobility of population, crime, bad health, poverty, poor housing, lack of recreation facilities, congestion, broken homes, and alcoholism.

Mid-morning lunches, distribution of clothing, and correction of physical defects are among the efforts to give a sense of security in the school and a chance to engage in creative activities.

*Digester's note: This volume contains scattered incidents of race tension and evidence of "danger spots."

†Digester's note: As of 1940, of 199 cities in the United States with 50,000 or more people, Charleston, S. C., has the worst record for overcrowding in housing: 24.4 percent of its occupied dwellings having 1.51 or more persons per room. For houses needing major repairs or without a private bath, Charleston's 58.6 percent was exceeded only by Columbus (Georgia), Durham, Macon, Montgomery and Nashville.

Need for remedial instruction is apparent because of rapid turnover in the school (poor background). The community needs more effective adult education, social services, and better housing to alleviate some of the appalling problems.

Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States. By E. Franklin Frazier. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940. **B-92**

Theme or purpose: A study of the caste system on the personality development of Negro youth in Washington, D. C., and Louisville, Kentucky.*

Although the primary purpose of this study was to determine the effect of the caste system on the personality development of Negro youth, a secondary result of the investigation is in the background information it gives on the Negro community of the border cities, particularly of Washington, D. C.

The most striking difference between the border-state Negro population and that of the old South is in the greater degree of urbanization. Instead of a completely segregated Negro area there is a diffusion of population over the cities with clusters of those of the same social strata. The social stratification is well-defined—including a lower class of domestic workers and laborers, a middle class of skilled workers and women household servants, and an upper class of professional people and businessmen, which can usually also be distinguished by lighter skin. The social life is dominated by the American custom of raising one's status, especially among the middle class.

Washington, D. C., is typical of border cities in its color lines of employment whereby Negroes are employed in menial capacity, even in the government agencies. The majority of Negroes are tenants of white landlords who are willing to rent to Negroes in transitional neighborhoods. Social distance makes an effective barrier even when Negroes and whites live in the same neighborhood.

The schools are run under the Southern segregated plan, but with more equality of opportunity. Even so Negro teachers have greater pupil load and the appropriations are about one-sixth less than what is due the Negro population.

In the late 1930's there was increasing exclusion of Negroes from places of amusement; hotels, etc.

Newspapers incidentally use titles of Mr. and Mrs. in referring to Negroes in Washington, D. C., but in Louisville newspapers Negroes are not given titles. They are not "Jim Crowed" on conveyances, however, and do not have separate waiting rooms. All of these factors point to a mixed situation; a partial segregation which makes the adjustment of Negro youth to their status particularly difficult.

The family, the neighborhood, the school, and the church are of course the most instrumental factors in helping the Negro youth adjust to his status.

In the lower class, the parents pass on their attitudes of servile accommodation, but the children tend to revolt and show considerable latent hostility

*Population of Washington: 486,869 in 1930; 663,091 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Washington: 621,059 in 1930; 907,816 in 1940.

Population of Louisville: 307,745 in 1930; 319,077 in 1940. Population of metropolitan Louisville: 404,396 in 1930; 434,408 in 1940.

to whites even though they may use the traditional techniques of "getting by." The lower class child is more apt to accept the derogatory stereotypes of the Negro. The middle class parents are apt to teach their children to shun the ways of the lower class Negroes and to appear respectable to whites. This is tied up with a strong race consciousness. Upper class parents try more to shield their children against the discrimination of the color line, and are able to give them concrete advantages and security to counteract the effects of being Negro.

In neighborhood contacts lower class children are more exposed to the hostility of the white community; the children of the middle class are more likely to develop a sense of personal dignity, whereas upper class children enjoy security and almost complete racial isolation.

It was found in this study that three factors of school life have a deep effect on the personalities of Negro youth: (1) the choosing of teachers from the upper class, (2) a decided preferential treatment of the lighter skinned upper-class children and (3) the program and efficiency of the schools which tends to educate the Negro to keener realization of his inferior status.

The Negro church, although it is created, supported, and controlled by Negroes seems to have nothing in its ideology to help Negro youth have greater respect for their race. God is "white." The other worldly outlook of the church ignores the problems of status, and in ecstatic religious experience gives the lower class outlet for pent-up emotion. Negro youth in cities tend to be critical of the church, but when any effort is made to understand their outlook and problems, the response is favorable.

An equal chance with whites for jobs is put first among the changes they desire in race relations by Negro youth of all classes. The work experiences of lower and middle class youth with whites have bred animosity and a feeling that techniques of propitiation are necessary to get along. The majority of these youth realize how limited are their chances of employment in contrast to the self confidence of the upper class group.

Besides family, neighborhood, school, church, and occupational contacts, the Negro has some contact with current social movements and ideologies. These however have practically no effect on the personality development of the youth. Certain general ideas like the ideal of the brown skinned Negro pictured in the press or certain personalities like Joe Louis seem to have a more profound effect on Negro youth than the ideologies of organizations interested in their welfare.

- B-93** Study and Evaluation of Recreational Facilities in West Palm Beach, Florida.
By Esther Creamer Holt. Gainesville: University of Florida (Master's Thesis), 1939. Pp. 118.

Theme or purpose: To evaluate the existing facilities for recreation in West Palm Beach, Florida, and to indicate certain changes which might increase their effectiveness.

This survey covers the public, private, and commercial facilities for recreation in West Palm Beach, Florida, a commercial city* which was developed to sustain the fashionable resort town of Palm Beach and which in recent years has become a resort town for the less well-to-do. The winter population is

*Population of West Palm Beach: 26,610 in 1930; 33,693 in 1940.

about 60,000. The fact that the city has a heavy bonded indebtedness has an effect on the public recreation budget and on the general policy of charging fees for recreation and gearing the recreation program to the tourists' interests.

West Palm Beach has a system of beautiful parks but the park facilities are about half the standard for a community of its size. At least twice as many playgrounds are needed to meet the needs of the children. Only one of the four playgrounds is equipped sufficiently. In 1939 all playground supervision was furnished by the W.P.A. although the largest expenditure of the recreation commission was for office and supervision. Clearly a larger appropriation was needed for recreation. A consideration of the local tax situation showed up irregularities in assessment and collection, which might be adjusted to yield more income for recreation. The young people of West Palm Beach make very little use of the parks and playgrounds.

The public library is inadequately financed and has prohibitive rental and membership fees.

The schools lay great stress on the athletic program and the junior high school band, both of which compete for honors outside the community and are good advertisement. Little attention is given to a general school program of physical education. Music receives more emphasis, with a splendid high school orchestra and glee club. Although some of the junior high schools are providing for hobby clubs, the social fraternity type of organization receives an undue share of interest in high school.

West Palm Beach seems to be over-supplied with private organizations and clubs as recreational mainstays—the beach clubs, the Society of the Four Arts (Palm Beach); ball league, forum, golf and country clubs, yacht clubs, Scouts and Y.W.C.A., social clubs, and the churches.

In a questionnaire sent out to the ministers, 17 replied that their churches were engaging in some type of recreation to "hold interest of young people," "to promote good fellowship," etc. Almost all the children in West Palm Beach attend Sunday School or a church young people's organization. Three of the four colored churches have recreation programs; and vacation school is important to the Negro children.

Commercial recreation agencies abound in West Palm Beach. Motion pictures are most popular, but gambling at the dog tracks is accepted. There are a number of dance halls, night clubs, poolrooms, etc. Commercial bowling alleys, archery and golf ranges and a skating rink provide for sports.

The author makes several pertinent recommendations to improve the recreational situation: higher appropriations for the Recreation Department and for the public library, abolishing of the fee system in public recreation, more cooperation between the Recreation Commission and the County School Board to give the school children a better program. Besides these specific suggestions, the author emphasizes the need for more community spirit in West Palm Beach and the need for education as to the real values of recreation.

Report of the Real Property Survey, Durham, North Carolina. W.P.A. O.P. B-94 65-1-32-148. Sponsored by the City of Durham. North Carolina State Planning Board, 1939-40. Pp. 62.

Particularly since 1937 when the United States Housing Act made possible slum clearance and the construction of housing for low income people, many

southern cities have availed themselves of the opportunity to cooperate through local authorities with the state and federal government to improve housing conditions. Not only was there cooperation between city, state, and nation in this program but there was also cooperation between federal and state agencies under the broad scope program of the "New Deal." One evidence of this cooperation was the work of the W.P.A. in making real property inventories in cities. Typical of these is this study for Durham, N. C. A condensed statement of what such an inventory covers is given. This will be followed by a list of southern cities by states for which inventories are available. Not all of these cities have embarked on housing projects.

This is a survey of land use, real property, and low income families as a basis for a housing and city planning program. Maps, charts, and tables supplement the text to indicate such factors as the following: land coverage, converted structures, age of structures, owner occupancy, mortgage status, average rental, race of household, substandard dwelling units, sanitary facilities, persons per room, dwelling units occupied by white and Negro tenants, percent of all dwelling units in each rent group in poor condition and in need of major repairs (by occupancy status), plumbing equipment, dwelling units with more than 1.50 persons per room (by race and by occupancy status), and data on employable and gainfully employed persons (by race and occupancy).

Surveys of real property for the following cities have been completed since 1938:

ALABAMA	Athens	NORTH CAROLINA
Anniston	Atlanta	Asheville
Bessemer	Augusta	Beaufort
Birmingham	Avondale Est.	Charlotte
Gadsden	Brunswick	Durham
	Cedartown	Goldsboro
ARKANSAS	Chamblee	Greensboro
* Little Rock	College Park	High Point
FLORIDA	Columbus	Kinston
Key West	Decatur	Morehead City
Pensacola	East Point	New Bern
St. Petersburg	Hapeville	Raleigh
Tampa	Macon	Reidsville
KENTUCKY	Marietta	Salisbury
Ashland	Milledgeville	Wilmington
Lexington	Rome	
Louisville	Savannah	SOUTH CAROLINA
Owensboro	Thomasville	Charleston
LOUISIANA	WEST VIRGINIA	TENNESSEE
New Orleans	Charleston	Knoxville
GEORGIA	Morgantown	VIRGINIA
Albany	Wheeling	Alexandria

Appendix C

TECHNIQUES AND MATERIALS
FOR
COMMUNITY SURVEYS

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PROCEDURES

IN MAKING THE COMMUNITY SURVEYS

1. Each regional director of religious education of The Presbyterian Church in the United States was responsible for serving as supervisor for one community survey. The director of the project in the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina met once with the regional directors to explain and discuss preliminary plans.
2. The community was selected in each region by the regional director after consultation with the director of the project. Three criteria governed the choice of communities from among those in which a Presbyterian church was already being studied for the Re-Study Committee.
 - (a) Size and type of community so as to give adequate variation among the ten selected.
 - (b) The probability of securing cooperation from the pastor and church.
 - (c) The probable availability of a qualified person in or near the community to serve as assistant supervisor of the community survey.
3. Each regional director endeavored to secure the assistance of a qualified person to act as assistant supervisor of the survey of the community selected in his region. Criteria which governed the selection of an assistant supervisor:
 - (a) Location within or near the community.
 - (b) Professional competence in making a community survey (possibilities included staff members of social agencies, college professors in the social sciences particularly sociology, high school social studies teachers, social workers, home economists, the county agent, the executive of a council of social agencies, etc.)
 - (c) Willingness to give considerable time to the job as a volunteer.
4. The regional director and the local assistant supervisor of the community survey went over in some detail the suggested procedures and outline for the survey, making what adaptations seemed advisable for the particular community.
5. The regional director, the assistant supervisor of the community survey, the pastor, and two or three residents familiar with the community selected a local survey committee representative of:
 - (a) Leadership in the church.
 - (b) The more important local agencies and segments of the population such as the superintendent of schools or his representative, the director of the department of public welfare or a family welfare society, the director of the department of health, executives of youth serving agencies, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, the public librarian, organized labor, and racial or nationality groups if important in the community, etc.The executive of a community council, a council of social agencies, or some similar planning and coordinating agency occasionally aided in the selection

of committee members and served on the committee. Committees varied in size from a mere handful to as many as twenty. It was recommended that the committee should elect a chairman, preferably a lay member representing the church.

6. The local survey committee generally:
 - (a) Discussed plans and procedures for the study.
 - (b) Made further local adaptations which appeared desirable.
 - (c) Found out what previous studies had been made in the community.
 - (d) Set up a time schedule for the survey.
 - (e) Allocated responsibilities for different parts of the survey.
 - (f) Arranged for appropriate publicity so that the project would be generally understood in the community.
 - (g) Kept plugging until all information was collected. Length of time required to make the surveys varied from 6 weeks to 4 months.
7. The assistant supervisor, under the guidance of the regional director:
 - (a) Assembled all the information.
 - (b) Wrote necessary additional analyses and conclusions (suggested length in double spaced typewritten pages for each section was given in an outline).
 - (c) Submitted the report to the local survey committee for revision and approval.
 - (d) Submitted two copies of the approved report to the regional director, keeping one copy for the use of the local survey committee.
8. The regional director submitted one copy of the report to the project director and the other copy to the director of the Re-study Committee.
9. If deemed desirable, it was suggested that the committee might work toward implementing findings of the survey as concerns community development through more extensive participation, reporting progress semi-annually to the regional director.
10. The project director edited the reports for consistency in form and found it necessary to complete the analysis and writing of sections of the reports for which only the raw data were provided. The individual community reports were then retyped, two copies being returned to the regional director, one for his own use and one for the local survey committee and the church.
11. The project director prepared a summary statement on the ten community surveys.

OUTLINE FOR SURVEYS OF TOWNS AND CITIES

(Modifications of this outline were provided for rural communities.)

1. *The Subregional Setting of the Community*

(provided by project director)

(one page)

2. *Historical Backgrounds*

(a) Early settlement

(b) Growth

(c) Important milestones

(d) Major influencing factors

(e) Founding and development of the selected church

(f) Other historical facts

(prepared by someone familiar with the history of the community)

(three pages)

3. *Population Facts*

Population trends, race and nationality, age and sex, family size, etc.

(provided by project director from the 1940 Census; supplemented and brought up-to-date whenever possible from local sources such as Chamber of Commerce, Rationing Board, school census, etc.)

(two pages)

4. *Housing* (later included in Section 6, Social Problems of the Community)

Home ownership, number of persons per dwelling and per room, type of dwellings, construction material, age of dwellings, state of repair, plumbing, water supply, toilet facilities, bath facilities, number of rooms, lighting, radio, refrigeration, cooking facilities, heating, mortgages, value of dwelling, monthly rent.

(Census data provided by project director and supplemented locally with more up-to-date information when possible)

(four pages)

5. *Neighborhoods of the Community*

This section and the one to follow, it was hoped, would constitute the heart of the survey. The two sections were designed to answer the question, "What kind of place is this in which to live?" Because in any community different neighborhoods vary so much, it was suggested that each neighborhood be described separately.

(a) Map of community showing the different neighborhoods, including business sections, industrial sections, parks, etc. Shown also was the location of the selected Presbyterian church, its outposts if any, and all churches of all denominations. (Neighborhood boundaries could usually be determined fairly accurately by the survey committee with the assistant supervisor making any needed investigation. A base map of the community showing streets could be obtained from such sources as the Post Office, the local utilities company, the city manager's office, the street department, or the fire department.)

- (b) On this suggested map of the community was located with a dot according to the residence each member of the selected Presbyterian Church. For members living outside this community, a tabulation was presented on a separate sheet according to the distance lived from the community as follows:

Within 5 miles

6-10 miles

11-15 miles

16-20 miles

21-25 miles

More than 25 miles

Concentration or lack of concentration of church members in the various neighborhoods was explained. Comment was requested on the significance of the proportion of members living outside the community.

(Church members were sometimes spotted on the map by the church secretary or the minister.)

(two pages)

- (c) Generalized description of each neighborhood as to:
- (1) Type of neighborhood (business, industrial, slum residential, middle class residential, upper class residential)
 - (2) General proportions of the racial and nationality stock of the residents
 - (3) Some general facts about population trends and changes in the neighborhood during the past 20 years (i.e., partial shift from residential to business or from unoccupied to residential) with future prospects for the neighborhood
 - (4) Chief occupations of the residents of the neighborhood (prepared by selected individuals or by a subcommittee) (one to two pages for each neighborhood)

6. *Social Problems in the Community*

Nature and extensity of the chief social problems of the community such as:

- (a) Inadequate income (in normal times)
- (b) Poor housing
- (c) Bad physical health and lack of medical care
- (d) Poor mental health
- (e) Inadequate recreational opportunities
- (f) Lack of education, poor school attendance
- (g) Adult crime
- (h) Juvenile delinquency
- (i) Broken families and marital difficulties
- (j) Inadequate care of children of working mothers
- (k) Adjustment of returning veterans
- (l) Race, nationality or interfaith friction, tension, and discrimination
- (m) Labor relations
- (n) Other social problems

In discussing each social problem, indication was requested of neighborhood variations, if any. Statistics were requested wherever available.

(Responsibility for preparing material on each problem selected for inclusion was usually assigned to an individual or a small subcommittee who was also made responsible for part of Section 11 below.)

(two to three pages for each problem selected)

7. *Analysis of Church Membership*

For the selected Presbyterian church figures were requested on the age and sex of members, with breakdown for *communicant* and *baptized* members. Conclusions were given as to segments of the population not being reached by this church; explanations.

(form for recording data provided by project director and reproduced below; data generally compiled by church secretary or minister)

(two pages)

8. *Church Participation in the Community*

For each church of all denominations data were secured on:

(a) Number of church members as of December 31, 1945

(b) Average church attendance during 1945:

(1) Sunday morning

(2) Sunday evening

(c) Number enrolled in Sunday School as of December 31, 1945

(d) Average attendance at Sunday School during 1945.

Questions such as these were considered: What have been the church membership and Sunday School enrollment trends during the past 25 years for this selected Presbyterian church and for other churches of all denominations in the community? What are the explanations? Here was desired only general trends and relative rankings of the several churches, not actual figures.

(This section was usually the responsibility of a subcommittee composed of church representatives on the survey committee. One approach in collecting the information was through the local ministerial association. In larger cities, a letter to each pastor was used to obtain the facts with personal follow-up visits needed in some instances.)

(form for recording data provided by project director and reproduced below)

(two pages)

9. *The Church and Community Agencies*

Each agency subsection covered:

(a) Name of agency

(b) Brief statement of its program

(c) Use of volunteers

(d) Chief unmet community needs recognized by the agency

(e) Extent to which pastor and members of selected Presbyterian church were serving on lay board or committees of the agency or on its staff of volunteers

(f) Ways in which the selected Presbyterian church and other churches were helping or could help in the agency program (financial, church plant, other ways)

Agencies were included from the following fields:

(a) Health (*i.e.*, city health department, T.B. Association, etc.)

(b) Welfare (*i.e.*, county department of public welfare, family welfare society, Salvation Army, etc.)

(c) Education (*i.e.*, city schools, county agricultural agents, etc.)

- (d) Recreation (*i.e.*, city parks commission, etc.)
(includes information on physical facilities)
- (e) Character Building or Group Work (*i.e.*, Y.M.C.A., Girl Scouts, etc.)
- (f) Housing (*i.e.*, city housing authority, housing association, etc.)
- (g) Race Relations (*i.e.*, interracial committee, Urban League, etc.)
- (h) Counseling returning veterans (*i.e.*, veteran's information center)
- (i) Other fields
(prepared by selected agency representatives; form provided by project director and reproduced below)
(two pages for each agency)

10. *The Church and Community Organization* (for communities where applicable)

Each agency subsection included:

- (a) Name of agency engaged in community organization
- (b) Brief statement of its functions and objectives
- (c) Immediate problems in community organization as recognized by the agency
- (d) Extent to which pastor and members of selected Presbyterian church were serving on board or committees of the agency
- (e) Delegate representatives of churches or of a church council on the agency board, council, or committees
- (f) Ways in which the selected Presbyterian church and other churches were helping or could help in achieving more effective community organization (*i.e.*, clearing needy cases through social service exchange or directly with welfare agencies, etc.)
(prepared by representatives of community organization agencies, *i.e.*, council of social agencies, community council, planning committees, etc.)
(two pages for each agency)

11. *The Church and Community Problems*

This question was asked: What is the selected church doing singly and in cooperation with other agencies relative to those social problems of immediate concern to the community and included in Section 6 above?

(Each subsection was developed by the individual or subcommittee preparing the material on the selected social problem for Section 6.)
(two pages on each social problem selected)

12. *Implications of Survey and Indicated Next Steps for the Selected Presbyterian Church*

- (a) In terms of meeting community needs through the program of the church
- (b) In terms of relating its program to that of other agencies
- (c) In terms of reaching all neighborhoods (not served by another Presbyterian church) and all segments of the population
- (d) In terms of possible church expansion
- (e) In terms of other factors
(developed by the assistant supervisor of the particular survey in close collaboration with the pastor and with the guidance and approval of the survey committee)
(three to five pages)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR USE OF FORMS IN ANALYSIS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

(SECTION 7)

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Two forms are provided for use in securing information concerning the age and sex of members of the selected church: (A) Tally Sheet, and (B) Final Table Form. Information is to be gotten for communicant and baptized members separately. The following suggestions are offered:

1. Take December 31, 1945, as the date for which the information is to be secured.
2. Tabulation from the records of the church secretary can best be accomplished by two people working together, one to call out the information, the other to do the tallying.
3. Use separate tally sheets for communicant and baptized members.
4. Each church member should be tallied with pencil in the appropriate age line and sex column of the Tally Sheet. Tallies should not be entered in column marked "Total." Tally four and cross through them for the fifth. If tallies are made small and neatly, two rows of tallies can be recorded in each age line of the form.
5. When tallying has been completed, at least two persons should count the tallies independently so as to have a check on accuracy. Totals should be entered with ink in each age line and sex column. The column marked "Total" should then be filled in.
6. Next, transfer from the Tally Sheet to the Final Table Form the figures for Communicant Members (total, male, female) and likewise for Baptized Members. Then make the necessary additions for the three columns under All Members. The table should check vertically and horizontally when completed.
7. On a second copy of the Final Table Form enter the percentage distributions to one decimal point (round out the decimal figures so as to add to 100.0). The total line should carry 100.0 in all columns with the percentages in each group adding up to this figure. If desired, the project director will have percentages calculated and returned to regional directors or assistant supervisors.

# Section 7. ANALYSIS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP TALLY SHEET

404

*Church and Community in the South*

Name of Church.....

Check category of membership } ☐ Communicant members  
tallied on this sheet                } ☐ Baptized Members

| AGE       | TOTAL | SEX  |        |
|-----------|-------|------|--------|
|           |       | MALE | FEMALE |
| Under 5   |       |      |        |
| 5- 9      |       |      |        |
| 10-14     |       |      |        |
| 15-19     |       |      |        |
| 20-24     |       |      |        |
| 25-29     |       |      |        |
| 30-34     |       |      |        |
| 35-39     |       |      |        |
| 40-44     |       |      |        |
| 45-49     |       |      |        |
| 50-54     |       |      |        |
| 55-59     |       |      |        |
| 60-64     |       |      |        |
| 65-69     |       |      |        |
| 70-74     |       |      |        |
| 75 & Over |       |      |        |
| Unknown   |       |      |        |



# Section 7. ANALYSIS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

## FINAL TABLE FORM

Name of Church .....

| AGE       | ALL MEMBERS |      |        | COMMUNICANT MEMBERS |      |        | BAPTIZED MEMBERS |      |        |
|-----------|-------------|------|--------|---------------------|------|--------|------------------|------|--------|
|           | TOTAL       | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL               | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL            | MALE | FEMALE |
| TOTAL     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| Under 5   |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 5- 9      |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 10-14     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 15-19     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 20-24     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 25-29     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 30-34     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 35-39     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 40-44     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 45-49     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 50-54     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 55-59     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 60-64     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 65-69     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 70-74     |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| 75 & Over |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |
| Unknown   |             |      |        |                     |      |        |                  |      |        |

CHURCH PARTICIPATION IN THE  
COMMUNITY

(SECTION 8)

Community.....

1. Name of Church .....

2. Denomination.....

3. Number of church members, December 31, 1945 . .....

4. Estimated average church attendance during 1945:

(a) Sunday morning . . . . .

(b) Sunday evening . . . . .

5. Number enrolled in Sunday School,  
December 31, 1945 . . . . .

6. Average attendance at Sunday School during 1945 .....

(SECTION 9)

Community.....

1. Name of Agency.....

2. Brief statement of agency's program:

3. Ways in which the agency uses volunteer assistance and leadership:

[illegible]



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